

**Reworkings in the textual history of *Gulliver's Travels*:  
a translational approach**

**Alice Colombo**

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## **ABSTRACT**

On 28 October 1726 *Gulliver's Travels* debuted on the literary scene as a political and philosophical satire meant to provoke and entertain an audience of relatively educated and wealthy British readers. Since then, Swift's work has gradually evolved, assuming multiple forms and meanings while becoming accessible and attractive to an increasingly broad readership in and outside Britain. My study emphasises that reworkings, including re-editions, translations, abridgments, adaptations and illustrations, have played a primary role in this process. Its principal aim is to investigate how reworkings contributed to the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* by examining the dynamics and the stages through which they transformed its text and its original significance. Central to my research is the assumption that this transformation is largely the result of shifts of a translational nature and that, therefore, the analysis of reworkings and the understanding of their role can greatly benefit from the models of translation description devised in Descriptive Translation Studies. The reading of reworkings as entailing processes of translation shows how derivative creations operate collaboratively to ensure literary works' continuous visibility and actively shape the literary polysystem.

The study opens with an exploration of existing approaches to reworkings followed by an examination of the characteristics which exposed *Gulliver's Travels* to continuous rethinking and reworking. Emphasis is put on how the work's satirical significance gave rise to a complex early textual problem for which *Gulliver's Travels* can be said to have debuted on the literary scene as a derivative production in the first place. The largest part of the study is devoted to textual analysis. This is carried out in two stages. First I concentrate on reworkings of *Gulliver's Travels* published in eighteenth- and in nineteenth-century Italy. These illustrate how interlingual translation operated alongside criticism, abridgment, adaptation and pictorial representation to extend the accessibility of Swift's work and eventually turned it into a popular and children's book. Then, I examine British reworkings and how the translational processes which they entail contributed to the popularity and the popularisation of *Gulliver's Travels* in eighteenth-century Britain.

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## **DECLARATION**

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

WORD COUNT: 74.508 words (excluding tables)

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## **DISSEMINATION**

I have presented my research project and some parts of my thesis at summer schools and conferences

- 25 Jun 2010      University College London - Translation Research Summer School  
Presentation of research project
- 6 Nov 2010      University of Portsmouth - 10th Portsmouth Translation Conference  
“The translation of *Gulliver’s Travels* into a children’s book”
- 28-30 Oct 2011      University of Edinburgh - International Postgraduate Conference in  
Translation and Interpreting (IPCITI)  
“The challenges of comparative analysis in interlingual, intralingual  
and intersemiotic translation”
- 31 May 2012      University of London - IGRS Translation Conference  
“From verbal to visual, from visual to verbal: the influence of  
illustrations on the translation process”

I am currently preparing an article about the influence of Grandville’s illustrations on the composition of Gaetano Barbieri’s 1840-42 Italian translation and of William Cooke Taylor’s London edition of *Gulliver’s Travels* (based on Chapter Four, section 3.6 of the thesis). The article will be submitted to *Translation and Literature*.

## **INTRODUCTION**

In the course of their lives literary works evolve. Translations, abridgments, adaptations, illustrations and all other forms of reworking have a primary role in this process. My project clarifies and emphasises the importance of derivative creations in the making and in the continuation of literature through an integrated study of the textual, generic, conceptual and receptive transformations which they involve. At the basis of my research is the assumption that these transformations can accurately be detected and better understood if we approach them from a translational perspective. I argue that while making their sources accessible to new audiences, reworkings translate them into new forms and genres not only metaphorically but also in a literal sense. Accordingly, I analyse them through the use of theoretical approaches and methods of analysis devised within the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies. While observing how reworkings transform their sources, I reflect on what terms the publication and the textual history of a literary work can be said to depend on translational phenomena. I consider that the integration of translation and literary studies advocated by my approach makes it possible for us to learn more about the life of literary works and about the dynamics which regulate their appearance and establishment on the literary scene.

The work whose textual and publication history I am going to explore is Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). A political and philosophical satire initially accessible to a restricted British readership, Swift's work has become widely known in and outside Britain mainly thanks to its metamorphosis into a popular and a children's book. My study investigates the relation between the transformation of *Gulliver's Travels* and the increase of the work's popularity in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italy and in eighteenth-century Britain. The adoption of a wider timeframe for the Italian context is due to substantial differences in the reception of Swift and his works in the two countries. Because of these differences, as we will see in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, in Italy *Gulliver's Travels* evolved more slowly and reached popularity later than in Britain. Trajectories of Swift's work are examined by conducting a comparative textual and paratextual analysis of Italian and British reworkings in close relation to the cultural, literary, historical and social contexts in which these were produced. Because of my decision to conduct the comparison from a translational perspective, interlingual translations, and hence the textual and publication history of

*Gulliver's Travels* in Italy, are given precedence in the analysis. After having examined the processes which introduced Swift's work to an increasingly broad and diversified Italian readership, attention is directed to the British context and, specifically, to how the work turned into popular and a children's book in the first place. It might be objected that this structure disregards the possibility that the earlier transition of *Gulliver's Travels* from satire into a children's book in Britain might have had an impact on the evolution of the work in Italy. This is not my intention. Adherence to strict chronological order would not be conducive to my goal of systematically describing how reworkings perform their translational function while transforming *Gulliver's Travels*. By focusing on the Italian editions first, I have the opportunity to illustrate how translation can be described and how the same method of description can effectively be applied to the study of the other types of reworkings. As the analysis of the interlingual translations gradually integrates with that of abridgments, children's versions, popular adaptations, pictorial representations and of various kinds of criticism, the translational nature of reworkings is evaluated in the light of how they give *Gulliver's Travels* new meanings and forms.

By looking at reworkings as entailing translational shifts and by providing a concrete idea of how these adapt Swift's work to different linguistic, cultural, literary and historical environments, my study offers an original perspective regarding how the continuation of literature is ensured. The examination of the processes which helped *Gulliver's Travels* become widely accessible and notorious in Italy and in Britain also significantly contributes to the textual and publication history of Swift's work. That *Gulliver's Travels* occupies a prominent literary position as both a biting political and philosophical satire and as an entertaining children's adventure book is a very well-known and established fact. However, the circumstances in which it acquired this double status have remained largely obscure. My research overcomes this gap not only by identifying and examining the textual transformations which led to this dichotomy, but also by situating them within a solid bibliographical and historical framework. In doing so, it makes it possible to determine when important turning points in the life of *Gulliver's Travels* occurred, including its origins as a children's book. The analysis of the reworkings is backed by extensive archival research, which produced detailed lists of editions of Swift's work published in Italy and in Britain during the periods under consideration. The number of the publications and the frequency with which they appeared on the literary scene provide fundamental insights into the trajectory of the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* among Italian and British readers. Bibliographical

rigour and detailed textual analysis give visibility to the editions which mark the stages of this trajectory, thus emphasising their literary value and function. It follows that while delving into the nature and role of reworkings and contributing to the history of *Gulliver's Travels*, my research invites us to extend the study of literary works to their textual variations. This approach seeks to promote a realistic and just view of literature, whereby creative derivations cease to be perceived as inferior and untrustworthy projections of a standard and immutable original. The fact that reworkings are analysed from a translational perspective also encourages us to review our perception of translation. Specifically, the examination of how reworkings perform their translational function by transforming *Gulliver's Travels* within the same language or carrying it across different languages and semiotic dimensions prompts a reflection on how far the boundaries of translation can be stretched.

The study is organised in four chapters. Chapter One explores existing approaches to reworkings and outlines the theoretical issues underpinning my research. At the same time, it discusses the relevance of my objectives and clarifies in what terms their achievement is expected to make a contribution to current knowledge. The chapter opens with an outline of André Lefevere's view of refractions (1981, 1982, 1985, 1991, 1992a, 1992b) and of Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978, 1979, 1990a, 1990b), from which I draw my working definition of literature. This contemplates a view of reworkings as part of a broad category of derivative creations which ensure the continuation and the dissemination of cultural products. As the chapter progresses, it shows how existing approaches to reworkings tend to move away from this inclusive perspective and to conceptualise translations, abridgments, adaptations, and illustrations as distinct entities. I emphasise that this fragmentation provides a misleading and dysfunctional picture of reworkings as imperfect reproductions and threats to the prestige of their sources. The central part of the chapter focuses on the relationship between translation and other types of reworkings. Specifically, I draw attention to how descriptive, sociological and semiotic approaches to translation have shown the translational nature of many derivative socio-cultural practices including abridgment, adaptation and book illustration. These approaches led to the important realisation that while adapting their sources to the requirements of new audiences, media and genres, reworkings subject their sources to similar processes of re-codification. Their scope, however, hardly extends beyond the classification of the shifts taking place during these processes and to the allocation of reworkings into Roman Jakobson's categories of 'intralingual', 'interlingual' and 'intersemiotic translation' (1958). In the final section of



the chapter I clarify how my study overcomes problems with existing categorisations by viewing reworkings as constituted by a range of translational phenomena which share the common purpose of making literary works flourish. After specifying how the publication and textual history of *Gulliver's Travels* will help achieve my aims, I list the versions and the parts of Swift's work examined in my study and describe the method I use to analyse them.

Chapter Two provides an introduction to *Gulliver's Travels* aimed at exploring the work's structural and thematic features, satirical significance and complex early textual history. The first section of the chapter calls attention to how the critical interest received by Swift's work has helped it gain high public profile. As I define the characteristics which have most notably exposed *Gulliver's Travels* to critical debate, I illustrate how the renegotiation of its political and philosophical significance has attracted an increasingly interdisciplinary attention and has gradually combined with the discussion of the work's other potential meanings and artistic value. Next, I emphasise how *Gulliver's Travels'* satirical and allegorical qualities have affected the work's textual history. The powerful images and the causticity through which Swift's satire is expressed have frequently prompted textual manipulations. These have become increasingly intervenient as the audience diversified and came to include categories of readers (e.g. children) for whom such images are particularly unsuitable. The chapter continues by investigating how the process of reworking of *Gulliver's Travels* originated. I argue that this process might have been initiated by the first publisher Benjamin Motte, who allegedly weakened the satirical force of the manuscript. Motte's supposed interventions triggered a process of textual revisiting which resulted in the existence of multiple 'standard' editions. The description of the phases of this process leads us to reflect on the implications of the lack of a stable original and the role of textual transformation in the life of *Gulliver's Travels*.

Chapter Three explores the Italian reception, publication and textual history of *Gulliver's Travels* between 1729 and 1890. Its primary objective is to investigate to what extent criticism, conjunctively with the textual transformations enacted by reworkings, contributed to the debut and to the gradual establishment of the work on the literary scene. The textual evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* is reconstructed through the diachronic comparison of the formal and conceptual characteristics of the versions published between 1729 and 1890. These include illustrated and non-illustrated translations, abridgments and adaptations aimed at different categories of readers. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first explores the circumstances under

which *Gulliver's Travels* appeared in Italy and analyses the structural and textual features of the first translation. The second section of the chapter investigates why the work quickly became marginal and remained so until 1840, when it gained visibility thanks to the appearance of two new translations. Special emphasis is given to the analysis of the translation issued by the publisher Stella, which contains the influential drawings by the French caricaturist and book illustrator J. J. Grandville. Finally, I concentrate on the editions published between 1865 and 1890 and on how these considerably increased the visibility of Swift's work by making it accessible to a popular readership and to children. The analytical exploration carried out in this chapter reveals, among the other things, that the Italian trajectory of *Gulliver's Travels* interestingly intertwines not only with the British, but also with the French fortune of the work. We learn that the early reception of *Gulliver's Travels* in France was crucial to the introduction of the work in Italy and that French early versions were often used as a base for the Italian translations in alternative to the English standard text(s). The English and Italian reworkings are closely examined in the light of both their own textual, paratextual and metatextual features and the relationship that they establish with their sources. The French translations, on the other hand, are analysed mainly in terms of how they are connected to their respective Italian derivations. Although of great interest, the questions of how these rework previous texts and of how they contributed to the reception and the evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* in France are not addressed in detail. The amount and the richness of the contextual and textual material examined to achieve my primary aim, namely to explore the role and the nature of the processes which transformed Swift's work in Italy and in Britain, made an exhaustive study of the French versions unrealistic. When details about French early textual and reception history of *Gulliver's Travels* are provided, these are drawn from existing studies, especially from the analysis carried out by Sybil Goulding (1924).

The last chapter, Chapter Four, compares the processes and the textual forms which made *Gulliver's Travels* known to a broad Italian audience with the processes and the textual forms through which the work evolved in eighteenth-century Britain. The chapter opens with an exploration of the differences which characterise the early reception of Swift's work in Italy and in Britain. This is principally aimed at explaining why *Gulliver's Travels* became popular and popularised in Britain before it did so in Italy. Three macro-sections describe the main phases through which this process took place. The first explores how Swift's work became exposed to the common practice of abridgment and concentrates on the analysis of the earliest reduction published by Stone

and King in 1727. In the second section of the chapter I investigate why and how *Gulliver's Travels* gained an increasingly popular appeal. The examination of the textual and pictorial features of the earliest available chapbook version, published around 1750, is carried out here. Finally, I focus on the processes which led to the transition of Swift's work from chapbook to children's book. Francis Newbery's edition of 1776, which contains the first text of *Gulliver's Travels* specifically addressed to young readers, illustrates this metamorphosis.

In the conclusion of the study I evaluate the relevance of the results which emerged from my analysis. While doing so I further reflect on the role of refractions and on the advantages of approaching their study from a translational perspective in the light of a better understanding of the trajectories of literary works.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Towards an integrated study of reworkings**

#### **1.1 ‘Refractions’ and their role within the literary polysystem**

The importance of reworkings in the dissemination and the continuation of literature has been emphasised by André Lefevere (1981, 1982, 1985, 1991, 1992a, 1992b). Lefevere argued that texts are constantly recycled, processed and restituted through derivative creations which he groups under the umbrella of ‘refractions’ (1981) or ‘rewritings’ (1985, 1991, 1992a, 1992b). Refractions, he maintains, have the power to introduce a literary work to audiences that do not have the means or are “not interested or motivated enough to gain access to originals” (1981, p.77). Their function is carried out both within and outside the culture in which their source first appeared (ibid.; 1985, p.235). An abridgment, for instance, will put a literary work within the reach of those readers who, due to limited financial means, reading skills or time, are not able to access the source in its standard form. An interlingual translation, on the other hand, will transplant the work into a new linguistic and cultural context so that it can be enjoyed by readers who are not familiar with the language of the original. Lefevere is confident that refractions play a significant role in the acquisition and in the preservation of a work’s canonical status. Classics, he declares, “achieve that status only after they go through a sometimes very protracted process of refraction” (1981, p.72). Lefevere invites us to recognise that our acquaintance with canonical literary works is often mediated by “a composite of a series of cumulative refractions we have grown to be quite comfortable with”, including comic strips, anthologies, films, TV series, plot summaries and critical articles (1981, p.73). When we finally get to read the actual classic, he rightly reckons, “we are often rather surprised by the discrepancy that appears to exist between our perception of the classic [...] and the actual text itself” (ibid.). This discrepancy is due to the fact that reworkings adapt their sources in compliance with the literary and cultural norms in force in the target context, the requirements and the expectations of the audience and the constraints of the medium in which they are re-encoded. In its nearly three hundred years of existence, *Gulliver’s Travels* has circulated in translations, serialisations, parodies, pastiches, imitations, abridgments, illustrations, theatrical, film, TV, music and ballet adaptations, comic strips and other forms. This multiplicity of genres and forms generated a variety of meanings which are more or less compatible with those encoded in the standard text.

Chapters Three and Four will show what forms and meanings *Gulliver's Travels* assumed during its metamorphosis into a popular and a children's book in Italy and in Britain.

No matter how distant from their sources, refractions always establish an intertextual relationship with them. This relationship, as observed by Julie Sanders (2006), "ensur[es] a continued interest in the original or source text" (p.97), which will continue to manifest its presence in the form of reprints of the standard editions. The persistence of the source on the literary scene will, in turn, prompt further refractions. Some of these will project the original in new semantic and even semiotic dimensions; some others will strive to recuperate the work's original form and significance, thus perpetuating the circular process of literary (re)creation.

That reworkings are part of the diffusion and the popularity of literary products is undeniable. The fact that they help their sources remain visible on the literary scene by enriching them with new significance, however, is hardly recognised by both the literary establishment and the general public. Translations, adaptations, abridgments and all other types of creative derivations are commonly perceived as second-rate and defective material on the premise that they feed on and manipulate a pre-existing and hypothetically archetypal original. Lefevere (1981) and Theo Hermans (1985) agree that the spread of these views is due to the ascendancy in the general literary discourse of "a number of naively romantic concepts of 'artistic genius', 'originality' [and] 'creativity'" (Hermans, 1985, p.7). Lefevere further develops this point by explaining that "[i]f a work of literature is the product of genius [...], it is admitted in the corpus [i.e. canon], which is used both as a model and as a yardstick, for production and evaluation respectively". As a consequence, refractions and in general "[a]ny kind of tampering with the text then becomes, quite logically, sacrilege" (1981, p.71).

While reflecting on the prevailing perceptions of how translations relate to their sources, Hermans observes that

[h]istorically the hierarchical positioning of originals versus translations has been expressed in terms of stereotyped oppositions. They are well known and include such oppositions as those between creative versus derivative work, primary versus secondary, unique versus repeatable, art versus craft, authority versus obedience, freedom versus constraint, speaking in one's own name versus speaking for someone else. In each instance it is translation which is circumscribed, subordinated, contained, controlled (2002, p.11).

Hermans also observes how the difference between source and target texts has conventionally been expressed in terms of oppositional images. During the Renaissance,

for example, particularly figurative metaphors were used such as “the original’s sumptuous robe versus the translation’s rough and homespun garment, the jewel now encased in a coarse casket, the treasure in a simple wooden chest [or] pouring that cannot be done without spilling” (1986, p.33). The myth of the superiority of the original spread hand in hand with the perception of translation as an aggressive act of appropriation. Saint Jerome wrote that “the translator considers thought content a prisoner which he transplants into his own language with the prerogative of a conqueror” (in Friedrich, 1992, pp.12-13). In more recent times, George Steiner argued that during the translation process the translator “invades, extracts and brings home” and added that “[t]he simile is that of the open-cast mine [which] left an empty scar in the landscape” (1998 [1975], p.314). Postcolonial studies have likened translation to cannibalisation and vampirism (see for example De Campos, 1981, p.208).

Similar antithetical metaphors have also been used to describe the relationship between illustrations and the written text to which they relate. According to Henry James, for instance, “[a] novel with pictures is like a garden growing two incompatible crops. It is a frame enclosing not only its own shapely design but also an alien parasitical plot [...]. Or it is a plate offering two inharmonious foods, or in a final variation, it is a plant on which is grafted a foreign stock” (Hillis Miller, 1992, p.69).

Despite being specifically concerned with only two types of refractions, the above statements would not lose their validity if the terms ‘translation(s)’ and ‘pictures’ were replaced with ‘adaptation’, ‘abridgment’, ‘parody’, ‘imitation’, or any other process of textual re-elaboration.

In order for the primary importance of refractions to become recognised, source-oriented approaches can be abandoned in favour of “a system concept of literature” (Lefevere, 1981, p.72). As Lefevere explains, this concept implies that, rather than existing “only in their ‘unique’ form”, literary works “are surrounded by a great number of [...] refracted texts” (ibid.).

Lefevere’s stance is influenced by Itamar Even-Zohar, who introduced the idea of literature as a ‘polysystem’. For Even-Zohar (1978, 1979, 1990a, 1990b), literature and any other constituent of culture are heterogeneous conglomerates of semiotic systems “which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent” (1979, p.290). Each polysystem is envisioned as a hierarchical structure composed of various strata in permanent struggle with each other. This struggle, which is driven by socio-cultural factors, determines the position of the individual systems on the

continuum between centre and periphery (1979, p.293) and canonised and non canonised strata (1979, p.295). The fact that the tensions between strata are continuous implies that the position occupied by the subsystems varies diachronically, with the result that “some systems may be driven from the centre to the periphery and vice-versa (Chang, 2001, p.258). This dynamism ensures the existence and the efficient maintenance of the polysystem.

In the literary polysystem sub-(poly)systems consist of literary modes and genres such as original and derived literature, literature for adults and for children, translated literature, fiction, poetry etc. Children’s literature, popular literature, translated literature, adaptations, abridgments and all forms of derivative literary production, tend to fluctuate in the periphery (Even-Zohar, 1979, p.296; see also Shuttleworth, 2009, p.198; Chang, 2008, p.135, 142; Hermans, 1985, p.8). Nevertheless, as Mark Shuttleworth points out, “the stimulus which they give to the canonized forms occupying the centre is one of the main factors which determines the way in which the polysystem evolves” (2009, p.198). It is from this very point that Lefevere’s considerations on refractions originated.

Although it has occasionally been criticised for its tendency to overgeneralisation and for implicating some conceptual contradictions (see for example Gentzler, 1993, p.121; Chang, 2008; Hermans, 1999, pp.118-119), the polysystem model is considered as an important breakthrough in the approach to the study of literature. By showing that the status of prestigious works is largely determined by the relations they entertain with peripheral products, polysystem theory underscored that the study of literary phenomena “cannot confine itself to the so-called masterpieces” (Even Zohar, 1979, p.292). Literary forms, works, genres and modes which linger in the periphery of the system must necessarily be taken into account in order to improve an understanding of how literature functions. In addition, the assumption that every polysystem interacts with other polysystems demands that works of literature should not be studied in isolation but in the light of their relations with the social and cultural polysystems in which they are originated. My analysis of *Gulliver’s Travels* is founded on these presuppositions. Accordingly, I focus primarily on reworkings and on how these contributed to the popularity of Swift’s work by adapting it to different social, historical, literary and cultural contexts.

## 1.2 The translational side of refractions

The refractive practice whose role in the continuation of literature and in the enrichment of the literary polysystem has most explicitly been recognised is translation.

The idea that translation plays an important role in the preservation and in the transmission of literary products was theorised long before Even-Zohar and Lefevere formulated their theories on reworkings. In ‘The Task of the Translator’ (2002 [1923]) Walter Benjamin observes that the connection between any work of literature and its translation(s) is a “*vital* connection” (p.76, my emphasis). On the one hand, Benjamin argues that translations owe their existence to originals in that they stem from their afterlife; on the other hand, by subjecting originals to constant recreation, translations mark their “stage of continued life” (2002, p.78). These claims have been echoed by many scholars. Stuart Gillespie (2005) and Alexandra Lianeri & Vanda Zajko (2008), for instance, revived them in the attempt to provide an explanation of how classic works of literature acquire and maintain their prestigious status<sup>1</sup>. Their studies insist on the fact that the regular appearance of translations plays a primary role in this regard. Gillespie highlights that translations reflect the status of any given work and, at the same time, help establish it (2005, p.8). Lianeri and Zajko remark that translation makes it possible for literary works to become classics by encouraging the continuous negotiation of the gap between their past and present meanings (2008, p.9). Like Benjamin, both Gillespie and Lianeri and Zajko stress that while moving their source across ages and ascribing value to it, translations inevitably bring about some sort of alteration. While Lianeri and Zajko limit themselves to reasserting that “no aspect of the classic can survive in the present in an unmediated form” (2008, p.10), Gillespie goes a step further. He maintains that translations enact the reassessment not only of their sources but also of previous works, “some closely and some more distantly related to it” (2005, p.9) as well as of the native canon (2005, p.10; see also Venuti, 2003, p.30). In support of his view Gillespie quotes, among the other examples, the cases of Alexander Pope’s notorious version of the *Iliad* (1715-1720) and of Edward Bysshe’s *The Art of English Poetry* (1702), one of the first practical guides to the history of the subject. Gillespie reports that Alexander Pope’s *Iliad* had “far-reaching effects on perceptions of the English canon” including, “for example, a boost to the value of Milton’s stock, as Pope’s text and notes revealed strong affinities both local and general between the

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<sup>1</sup> Lianeri and Zajko confine the notion of ‘classic’ to the works of the canonic authors of ancient Greece and Rome. However, the considerations which they make can be extended to works which are subsumed by a broader notion of ‘classics’, namely to those works which have resided in the canon for a prolonged period of time.



leading Greek and the leading English epic poet” (2005, p.10). “Bysshe’s canon of modern poetry”, on the other hand, is said to “include[s] lines of Chaucer [...] and portions of Shakespeare and Milton [...] intermingled with hundreds of passages in translation from Homer, Virgil and many other ancient classics, the translations being those of the English poets themselves (pre-eminently Dryden)” (Gillespie, 2005, p.12). Gillespie’s examples suggest that not only do translations help literary works to remain constantly available and accessible, but they also greatly contribute to the evolution and the shaping of the literary polysystem.

To recapitulate, translations create a powerful intertextual relation between past and present which provides the condition necessary for works of literature to prosper across time. On the one hand, they introduce new interpretations which comply with the requirements of the target audience, as well as with the norms which govern the production of literature in the target situation. Since literary tastes and norms evolve under the influence of historical and social changes, new translations become necessary to replace old readings with new ones (see Lefevere, 1992a, p.19; Toury, 1999; Tahir Gürçağlar, 2009, p.234; Venuti, 2003, p.25-26). On the other hand, translations contribute to the reaffirmation of the work’s original and institutionalised interpretations (Venuti, 2003, p.26), thus ensuring that it remains visible. In a statement which recalls the ‘retranslation hypothesis’, later formalised by Antoine Berman (1990), Lefevere stresses this point by claiming that

the foreign writer may have to adopt the native guise, but once he or she is established in the receiving literature, new translations tend to be made with the aim of revealing him or her on his or her terms to the receiving literature, and no longer on terms dictated by the receiving literature itself (1985, p.236).

The continuous negotiation between past and present interpretations encouraged by translation stimulates the discussion of what is central and what is marginal within the literary polysystem.

The dynamics with which translations help works of literature remain visible on the literary scene and shape the literary polysystem can be better understood by turning to polysystem theory. Even-Zohar asserts that within the literary polysystem translated literature can occupy a central or peripheral position (1990a, p.46). In eighteenth-century Britain, Pope’s version of the *Iliad*, and translation of classical texts more widely, held a central position. As such, they unleashed “innovatory forces” which were responsible for either the reassessment of previous works or the introduction of new

models, “new (poetic) language, or compositional patterns and techniques”, thus actively “shaping the centre of the polysystem” (Even-Zohar, 1990a, pp.46-47). On the other hand, translation of works by minor or emerging authors as well as translation of works which are too discordant with the poetics and the ideology of the receiving situation, have traditionally occupied a secondary position (Even-Zohar, 1990a, pp.48-49; see also Venuti, 1995). This implies that, in comparison to translations of classic literary works or of works which have the potential to become so, translations of secondary works have less chance to influence the creation of new literary products and to occupy a prestigious position within the literary polysystem. While classics and their translations maintain a stable central position, the perception of what is secondary may vary under the influence of social, cultural and historical changes. According to Even-Zohar, translated literature, or, more precisely, translated non-canonised works can assume an innovatory role in three situations – when “a polysystem has not yet been crystallized that is to say, when a literature is “young”, in the process of being established”; “when a literature is either “peripheral” (within a large group of correlated literatures) or “weak” or both; “when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature” (1990a, p.47).

The perception of translated literature within the literary polysystem has, as reported by Even-Zohar, a direct impact on the very practice of translation. He hazards that when translated literature assumes a primary position “the translator’s main concern [...] is not just to look for ready-made models in his home repertoire into which the original could be transferable. Instead, he is prepared [...] to violate the home conventions”. “Under such conditions”, adds Even-Zohar, “the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy [...] are greater than otherwise” (1990a, p.50). When, on the contrary, translated literature occupies a secondary position, the translator will be more likely to concentrate his or her efforts “upon finding the best ready-made secondary models for the foreign text” (Even-Zohar, 1990a, p.51). As a result, the translation will tend towards the pole of acceptability rather than towards the pole of adequacy.

This view, and in general the opposition between primary and secondary repertoires and activities, are generally considered to be the main weaknesses of the polysystem hypothesis. According to Edwin Gentzler, Even-Zohar’s “universal laws of translation” are “based on relatively little evidence” (1993, p.121). Hermans shares the same perspective and points out that

“[w]hereas the ‘centre versus periphery’ and the ‘canonical versus non-canonical’ oppositions are, in principle at least, deduced from statements by actors in the system and from the control they wield over means of productions and distributions, the ‘primary versus secondary’ opposition [...] slid[es] from the model of reality” (1999, p.119)

In order to acquire more credibility, polysystemic study of translation should prioritise the observation “of actual political and social power relations or more concrete entities such as institutions or groups” (Hermans, 1999, p.118; see also Gentzler, 1993, p.123; Wolf, 2007, p.7).

A first step towards the achievement of this objective was taken by the scholars of the so-called ‘Manipulation School’ of Translation Studies (Wolf, 2010, p.2007). These scholars reassessed the polysystem hypothesis while looking at suitable ways to describe translations within the literary, cultural, social, historical context in which they are produced. Their philosophy and their aims were summarised by Hermans in a statement which has become the manifesto of Descriptive Translation Studies. The statement reads that

[w]hat they have in common is a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target organized, functional and systemic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations, in the relation between translation and other types of text processing, and in the place and role of translations both within a given literature and in the interactions between literatures (1985, pp.10-11).

These resolutions resulted in a series of more or less workable models for the systematic and functional study of translated literature. Among the most discussed are the models devised by Gideon Toury (1980), José Lambert & Hendrick Van Gorp (1985) and Kitty Van Leuven-Zwart (1989, 1990), which will be analysed later. Some of the faults associated with the theories elaborated by Even-Zohar were partly addressed. Lefevere, in particular, minimised the degree of superficiality and abstractedness of the polysystem hypothesis by laying “greater emphasis on interaction between system and environment, on the system’s internal organization and on control mechanisms” (Hermans, 1999, p.125). He identified five constraints under which translation takes place – ideology, poetics, universe of discourse, natural language and the original itself (see Lefevere, 1985, 1992a, 1992b). To these Lefevere adds a sixth control factor, the literature’s self-image (1985, p.236), which he believes has a major role in regulating the import of foreign works and the general attitude towards them. The cases of

eighteenth-century France and Germany are taken as examples to illustrate this point. At a time when it held the cultural hegemony over Europe, France “would have every reason to screen out whatever did not fulfil its requirements, or else change it in such a way as to make it acceptable. It did that to foreign works by means of translations [...]” (ibid.). German literature, which on the other hand did not “have all that much of a self-image”, would not “dictate any terms at all” (ibid.). “On the contrary”, Lefevere declares, “it [would] accept at least, the poetics of the source literature as a potentially liberating influence and one that will, through patient imitation, allow it finally to emerge from the depths of obscurity and to play an important part on the stage of world literature as a whole” (ibid.). These premises lead Lefevere to the conclusion that translation is the visible sign of the openness of a literary polysystem in that “it opens the way to what can be called both subversion and transformation, depending on where the guardians of the dominant poetics, the dominant ideology stand” (ibid.). The exploration of the factors which influence the production and the perception of translated literature becomes for Lefevere another occasion to reassert the necessity of studying translation in conjunction with other forms of reworkings. He points out that translation “does not manage to subvert or transform a literature all on its own” but it “does so in conjunction with other forms of rewriting” (ibid.). Therefore, he suggests,

[i]f the study of translation is to be made productive for the study of literary theory and, especially, literary history, it is quite clear that translation can no longer be studied in isolation, but that it should be studied as part of a whole system of texts and the people who produce, support, propagate, oppose, censor them (ibid.).

The integrated and parallel analysis of translations, abridgments, illustrations and adaptations of *Gulliver's Travels* carried out in my study moves towards this direction.

Other interesting approaches to translation description have emerged with the gradual establishment of the view of translation as a social and semiotic practice. On the one hand, sociological approaches to translation have provided a comprehensive picture of the agents and the power relations involved in the production, distribution and consumption of translations. This, in turn, has made it possible to achieve a better understanding of the function and the functioning of translated literature within the literary and historical systems in which it is produced (Wolf, 2010, p.337). On the other hand, the semiotic view of translation as a process intrinsic to the act of communication strengthened the Jakobsonian assumption that translation occurs not only across different languages (‘interlingual translation’), but also, and frequently, within the same

language ('intralingual translation') and across different semiotic dimensions ('intersemiotic translation') (Jakobson, 2002 [1959], p.139) This has promoted the perception of different categories of reworkings, most notably abridgments, adaptations of various kind, and illustrations, as the result of translational processes, thus creating a favourable condition for the joint study of translation and other reworkings advocated by Even-Zohar and by Lefevere. As will shortly be seen, however, such a perception is still vigorously (and in my opinion counterproductively) rejected due to the persistent assumption that translation is an exclusively interlingual phenomenon.

Sociological approaches to translation advocate the view of translation as a socio-cultural practice whose production, distribution and consumption take place within a social system under the influence of social norms. Such a perspective encourages the study of translation using the tools and conceptual models theorised by sociologists including Pierre Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire, Bruno Latour, Niklas Luhmann, Anthony Giddens, Joachim Renn and Martin Fuchs (Wolf, 2010, p.338; see also Inghilleri, 2009, p.279).

Bourdieu's theory of symbolic forms and the categories of his cultural sociology - 'field', 'habitus' and 'capital' - have proven especially useful to investigate the socio-cultural context in which translation occurs (Wolf, 2007, p.12). Bourdieu perceives society as being composed of interrelated 'fields'. Each field, he maintains, is a "structured space with its own laws of functioning" (Johnson, 1993, p.6) and its own network of agents who "struggle to maintain or change power relations on the basis of their habitus and the various types of capital they possess" (Wolf, 2010, p.339). The categories of 'field' and 'capital' had been implicitly applied to the study of translation before they were formally borrowed by sociologists of translation. Bourdieu's perception of society and in particular the concept of 'field' is reminiscent of Even-Zohar's idea of polysystem (see Schmidt, 1991 and Viala, 1997, in Hermans, 1999, pp.131-132). The notion of 'capital' and its implication in cultural production and distribution has been expressed by Lefevere in terms of the connection between ideology and patronage<sup>2</sup>. In contrast, the concept of 'habitus', intended as the set of dispositions acquired by individuals "through experience and socialization in early life" (Wolf, 2010, p.339) was applied to translation only when this began to be approached from a strictly sociological perspective. The transplantation of the concept of habitus within the translational context resulted in an increased awareness of the centrality of

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<sup>2</sup> That the concept of patronage was inspired by Bourdieu's model was explicitly recognised by Lefevere at a later stage of the formulation of his theories (see Lefevere, 1998, pp.41-56).

the figure of the translator (Inghilleri, 2009, p.281) and of his or her relations with the other agents involved in the “translation enterprise” (Wolf, 2010, p.338). The new interest in the translator as a social agent has made it possible to come to a deeper knowledge of the conditions and of the “conscious and unconscious motives” (Wolf, 2010, p.340) which underlie the translation process (see Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 2010) and which prompt the adoption of certain strategies over others.

Overall, sociological approaches to translation have provided a more complete picture of which factors should ideally be taken into account in translation description. Lefevere’s explicit recognition that the production, the distribution and the consumption of translation are influenced by the sum of ideology, poetics, universe of discourse, natural language, original text, and the literature’s self-image drew attention to the inextricable link existing between any translation and its context. Sociological approaches to translation have highlighted the social character of this link as well as of the interrelation between the factors identified by Lefevere and the figure of the translator.

Besides having contributed to the descriptive study of translation, sociological approaches have made it possible to speculate with more confidence on the connection between translation and the hierarchisation of literary products within the literary polysystem. The collection of information about the social status and the social relations of the translator, for instance, might help us determine what position a certain translation occupies within the target literary polysystem and what significance is attributed to the original at the time the translation is commissioned. During the analysis of each of the reworkings of *Gulliver’s Travels* included in my study I collected as much information as possible about translators, adaptors, abridgers, illustrators, publishers and readers. This helped keep track of and explain changes in perception as well as the movements of the work within the literary polysystem.

As mentioned above, the understanding of translation as a cultural product and of its role in the shaping of the literary polysystem was enhanced thanks to the contribution not only of sociological but also of semiotic approaches. The perception of translation as a semiotic activity challenges the traditional idea of translation as a practice which entails exclusively the transfer of a written text from one language to another. The first to have explicitly argued for a broader concept of translation is Roman Jakobson, whose theory that verbal signs are interpreted by means of ‘interlingual’, ‘intralingual’ and ‘intersemiotic translation’ has already been mentioned. Jakobson’s view inspired other scholars to explore the question of how far the outer limits of translation can be

stretched (Stecconi, 2009, p.16; Schäffner, 1999, p.100). As a result, the belief has gradually gained ground that, being a semiotic activity, translation might not have defined boundaries. Steiner (1998 [1975]) asserts that every act of communication involves some kind of translation. “A human being”, he maintains “performs an act of translation, in the full sense of the word, when receiving a speech-message from any other human being” (1998, p.48). He then stresses his position by acknowledging that translation is inherent to any “operation of interpretative decipherment” and comes to the conclusion that “*inside or between languages, human communication equals translation*” (1998, p.49, emphasis in the original). In this view, Steiner is not alone. The exact point is reiterated by Andrew Chesterman, who, more succinctly though as forthrightly, declares that “all writing is translating” and “to speak means [...] to translate meanings into words” (1997, p.13).

Steiner is one of the few scholars to reflect on and further theorise the concept of ‘intralingual translation’. He replaces Jakobson’s term ‘intralingual translation’ with ‘diachronic translation’ to stress the fact that language “is, literally at every moment, subject to mutation” (1998, p.19) and that translation within the same language is constantly needed to keep up to date with the changes. He argues that while translating across time, readers, actors and editors have recourse to the same tools used by interlingual translators. These include “lexical, historical grammars, glossaries of particular periods, professions, or social milieu, dictionaries of argot, manuals of technical terminology” (1998, p.29). The parallel between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ translation is further reinforced with the specification that

[i]n either case the means of penetration are a complex aggregate of knowledge, familiarity, and re-creative intuition. In either case also there are characteristic penumbras and margins of failure. Certain elements will elude complete comprehension or revival (ibid.).

The role and the importance of intralingual translation are also emphasised by Chesterman. Like Steiner, Chesterman alludes to the fact that we often “translate across time within the same language” and illustrates his statement by referring to the reading of Chaucer (1997, p.13). Intralingual translation, he explains, occurs “when we read Chaucer in modern English translations” or even when, while reading Chaucer in the original, we “interpret him into our own language”.

Steiner takes the discussion of literary intralingual translation a step further by highlighting the necessity to continuously translate within one language in relation to the continuation of literature. According to Steiner, the connection which links source

and target text in intralingual translation is as vital as the one which Benjamin claimed to be existing between any literary work and its interlingual translation. As he puts it,

[l]iterature [...] has no chance of life outside constant translation within its own language. The existence of art and literature, the reality of felt history in a community, depend on a never-ending, through very often unconscious, act of internal translation (1998, p.31).

‘External’ and ‘internal translation’, then, are not only carried out in analogous ways, but they equally contribute to the transcendence of literary works and, more in general, to the development and the maintenance of all literary polysystems.

Jakobson’s third category of ‘intersemiotic translation’ is mentioned by Steiner in his “hermeneutically oriented” definition of “‘theory’ of translation”, or “‘theory’ of semantic transfer” (1998, p.293). This takes translation to be subsuming “all meaningful exchanges” or “the totality of semantic communication (including Jakobson’s intersemiotic translation or ‘transmutation’)” (ibid.).

Korning Zethsen (2009) also elaborates an “open and inherently non-finite” (p.278) definition of translation. This synthesises Jakobson’s classification and Toury’s ‘source text’, ‘transfer’ and ‘relationship’ postulates (1995, pp.33-35) in a series of propositions which read like this<sup>3</sup>:

A source text exists or has existed at some point in time. A transfer has taken place and the target text has been derived from the source text (resulting in a new product in another language, genre or medium), i.e., some kind of relevant similarity exists between the source and the target texts. This relationship can take many forms and by no means rests on the concept of equivalence, but rather on the *skopos* of the target text (Korning Zethsen, 2009, pp.799-800).

Unlike Steiner, who, as we have seen, equals translation to “all procedures of expressive articulation and interpretive reception” (Steiner, 1998, p.294), Korning Zethsen restricts the applicability of her definition to processes of textual re-codification which make physical texts meaningful in a new situation. In doing so, she recalls the function performed by the practices of textual re-creation subsumed by the category of refractions. The correlation between translation and refraction established by Korning Zethsen’s definition is in accordance with my view of translation. As I have already

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<sup>3</sup> According to Toury, a text can be classified as a translation if it satisfies three postulates. ‘The source-text postulate’ states that “[r]egarding a text as a translation entails the obvious assumption that there is another text, in another culture/language, which has both chronological and logical priority over it” (1995, pp.33-34). ‘The transfer postulate’ entails the assumption that a process of transference has taken place between the text and its assumed original (1995, p.34). ‘The relationship postulate’ implies the existence of “accountable relationships” between source and target text (1995, p.35).



pointed out, it is by reading refractions as translational phenomena that I intend to investigate their role in the textual and publication history of *Gulliver's Travels*.

Korning Zethsen is particularly interested in intralingual translation, which she describes in the light of its similarities and differences with 'interlingual translation'.

Both intralingual and interlingual translation, she observes, have the function of increasing the accessibility of their sources. While interlingual translations make their originals available in new linguistic and cultural environments, intralingual translations resituate them in the form of "numerous varieties of expert-to-layman communication, easy readers for children, subtitling for the deaf, summaries, some kinds of news reporting, new translations of classics, etc" (2009, p.800). Korning Zethsen illustrates that both types of translation perform their function by elaborating the source with the same micro-strategies - omission, addition, explicitation, lexical, syntactical, semantic restructuring, and paraphrase (2009, pp.802-805).

What distinguishes intralingual from interlingual translation, she continues, is that the former carries the source text across the codes of "different genres and target groups"; the latter across "the codes of national languages" (2009, p.808). In addition, in comparison to interlingual translation, intralingual translation involves higher degrees of simplification. This discrepancy is reported to be determined by the preconditions of the existence of intralingual translation, namely the level of knowledge or the distance in time, culture and space which separate target and source audience.

The characterisation of intralingual translation provided by Korning Zethsen produced useful results. Not only does it highlight that intralingual translation is as fundamental as interlingual translation, but also that it entails analogous strategic procedures. The study, however, leaves some questions unanswered and raises some methodological and epistemological issues.

Korning Zethsen examines the processes involved in intralingual translation comparing four Danish versions of the Bible addressed to different audiences. Some of these versions are said to be derived from sources written in a language different from Danish. Their status of intralingual translations is determined on the ground that they are compared not with their respective sources but with a *tertium comparationis*, the Danish authorised version of 1948. This circumstance does not make Korning Zethsen's general argument on the strategies employed in intralingual translation less valid. It is my opinion, however, that a discourse on intralingual translation would be more logical as well as more credible if the target text under analysis and their direct source(s) belonged to the same language.

Conclusions are not always supported with sufficient evidence. This is particularly true in regard to the declaration that intralingual translation is more prone to simplification than interlingual translation. A statement of this kind would require the comparison of the same sample of text across different interlingual versions. This assessment, however, is not performed. Korning Zethsen is aware of the limitations of her analysis. After having admitted that her analysis is largely speculative, she encourages translation scholars to undertake further “empirically-based research to provide a thorough and comprehensive description of intralingual translation and of the similarities and differences between intralingual and interlingual translation” (2009, p.810).

The extension of the concept of translation promoted by semiotic approaches has also resulted in the study of intersemiotic processes of textual re-codification such as illustration and multimodal adaptation from a translational perspective.

For Nilce Pereira illustrations are ‘intersemiotic translations’ on the basis that “the methodologies employed by illustrators are in the majority of the cases the same as those adopted by translators” (2008, p.105). Like interlingual translators, she argues, illustrators convey the message encoded in their sources “by literally reproducing the textual elements in the picture” (2008, p.109), “by emphasizing specific narrative elements” and toning down others (2008, pp.111-112), “by adapting the pictures to a specific ideology or artistic trend” (2008, p.114).

Linda Hutcheon recycles the notion of intersemiotic translation to explain how adaptation works. At the beginning of her analysis, Hutcheon defines adaptation as

- an acknowledged transposition of a recognisable other work or works
- a creative and an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging
- an extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work (2006, p.8).

The process of transposition entailed by adaptation, she explains, may result in a “shift of medium (a poem to a film), or genre (an epic to a novel), or a change of frame and therefore context” (2006, pp.7-8) as well as in “a shift in ontology from the real to the fictional, from a historical account or biography to a fictionalized narrative or drama” (2006, p.8). From the point of view of internal narrative structure, transformations may radically affect the plot, the pace of the narration, the focalisation (2006, p.11) or the ending of the story (2006, p.12). This characterisation implicitly classifies adaptation as a form of refraction and, since refractions can be read as entailing translational processes (see Korning Zethsen’s ‘non-finite’ definition), also as

a form of translation. As Hutcheon's analysis progresses, the refractive and translational character of adaptation becomes more apparent. "An adaptation", she observes, "is likely to be greeted as minor and subsidiary and certainly never as good as the "original"" (2006, p.xii) and always bears "an overt and defining relationship" with the source which it (re-)interprets and (re-)creates (2006, p.3). The detection of this intertextual relationship on the part of the audience is what, according to Hutcheon, makes it possible to distinguish an adaptation from an original production (2006, p.xi and pp.121-122). Clearly, if the terms 'adaptation' and 'adapted' were replaced with 'translation' and 'translated', 'abridgment' and 'abridged', 'illustration' and 'illustrated' these statements would not lose their validity.

Hutcheon tacitly echoes Benjamin by claiming that adaptations "may keep the prior work alive, giving it an afterlife it would never have had otherwise" (2006, p.176). In addition, she openly declares that "adaptations are often compared to translations" on the basis that they both are "openly acknowledged and extended reworkings of particular other texts" (2006, p.16). As such, she continues, they both subject their sources to a process of transposition, or of 'reformatting' during which losses are compensated with gains (ibid.). The boundaries between translation and adaptation become almost non-existent, Hutcheon claims, when translation ceases to be judged in terms of its closeness to the source and comes to be perceived as a "transaction between texts and between languages" which "makes us see that text in different ways" (ibid.). With source-oriented views of translation giving way to target-oriented views, the only difference remaining between adaptation and translation is the fact that the former often entails a shift across different media. Multimodal adaptations, therefore, can be equated to 'intersemiotic translations' or, as Hutcheon puts it, "translations in the form of intersemiotic transpositions from one sign system (for example words) to another (for example images)" (ibid.).

The considerations made so far in this section help evaluate to what extent the study of translation and the study of other categories of reworkings have come to converge. We gather that intralingual interventions aimed at increasing the accessibility of a source (Steiner 1998 [1975]; Koring Zethsen, 2007, 2009) and intersemiotic processes of re-codifications such as multimodal adaptation (Hutcheon, 2006) and illustration (Pereira, 2008) have often been regarded as translational phenomena. However, this perspective has not yet been widely adopted. Outside translation studies there seem to have been no inclination to recognise the translational nature of abridgments, popularisations (e.g. chapbooks), children's adaptations and illustrated editions of

literary works<sup>4</sup>. The same applies to Transfer Studies, which has recently started to explore ‘adaptation’ defined as the optimisation and simplification of non-literary texts (see for example Göpferich, 2004; 2010).

The emergence of an integrated translational view of refractions is hindered by the fact that, in general discourse, translation is still perceived predominantly as an interlingual and intercultural practice. Lawrence Venuti’s comparative discussion of translation and adaptation (2007) provides strong evidence in support of this statement. Like Hutcheon, Venuti recognises that translation and adaptation operate in a similar way. Both practices, he observes, “dismantle, rearrange, and finally displace the chain of signifiers that make up the source text” (2007, p.29). However, he also points out that

[t]oday, [...] translation and adaptation are carefully distinguished by publishers and translators, filmmakers and screenwriters, even if copyright law classifies both cultural practices as ‘derivative works’. Contemporary translators are required by their publishers to render the source text without any deletions and with only such additions as might be necessary to make that text intelligible in the translating language and culture. An adaptation, in contrast, might depart widely from its prior materials, submitting them to various kinds of manipulation and revision (ibid.).

Venuti further stresses his point by specifying that like translation, adaptation “recontextualizes its prior material but [...] the process is much more extensive and complex because of the shift to a different, multidimensional medium with different traditions, practices and conditions of production” (2007, p.30). Clearly, intermediality and the high level of creativity involved in the process of manipulation of the source continue to be largely regarded as characteristics incompatible with translation as it is traditionally “understood, [...] socially construed, legitimated and institutionalized” (Hermans, 1996, p.15).

In order to overcome this limiting stance, more concrete efforts could be made to extend our understanding and perception of translational phenomena. Many scholars see the adoption of broader and more flexible definitions of translation as a possible solution towards this objective (see for example Delabastita, 1989, p.214; Tymoczko, 2005, pp.1085-1086; Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p.10; Sütiste and Torop, 2007, p.192). What we should aim at, they argue, is not a dictionary-style explanation, nor a

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<sup>4</sup> Translation scholars have repeatedly highlighted that the position occupied by translation in the study of literature is largely peripheral (see for example Hermans, 1985, p.7 and 9; Even-Zohar, 1987, p.117; Lefevere, 1992, p.7, Gaddis Rose, 1997, p.73). Comparative literature is generally indicated as the only area of Literary Studies in which translation has received attention (see Hermans, 1985, p.9; D’Hulst, 2007, p.95; Delabastita, 2011, p.203).

checklist of “the necessary and sufficient conditions for translation as either process or product” (Tymoczko, 2005, p.1085), but rather, at a definition which helps us know

more about the nature of the concept of translation and to be able to say more about its (permeable) boundaries. We might like to know more, for example, about the range of translational phenomena, the sorts of things that enter into decisions by various cultures to identify certain phenomena as translations and reject others as not translations, the types of correlations there are between these identifications and other cultural processes and products, the correlations there are between such determinations and social conditions, and the like (Tymoczko, 2005, p.1086).

In my view, however, the problem is not rooted in the lack of open definitions of translation. The problem lies in how translational phenomena are actually addressed and analysed. The definitions proposed by Steiner (1998 [1975]) and Korning Zethsen (2009), as we have seen, extend respectively to any communicative act and to any adaptive process carrying a text across different languages, genres or media. These definitions essentially merge Jakobson’s categories of intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic translation into an indistinct whole of translational phenomena. However, as Steiner and Korning Zethsen proceed to illustrate the extension of their definitions, they both draw a distinction between ‘interlingual’ and ‘intralingual translation’ (Steiner replaces the Jakobsonian tags with respectively ‘external’ and ‘internal’ translation). This distinction insinuates that the re-codification of a text within the same language does not count as ‘translation proper’. We have observed that multimodal processes of transfer such as illustration and adaptation are generally also kept distinct from ‘translation proper’ through the appellation ‘intersemiotic translation’ (see Pereira, 2008; Hutcheon, 2006). The persistent use of Jakobson’s tripartition as a means to illustrate the extensibility of translation has *de facto* produced adverse effects, resulting not only in a fragmented, but also in a hierarchised perception of translational phenomena. In order to have a concrete idea of how categorisation shaped the view of translation, we could think of translation in polysystemic terms. If we were to picture translation as a polysystem, interlingual translation would be the system perennially occupying the centre. Intralingual and intersemiotic translation, on the other hand, would be the systems lingering in the periphery. The studies occasionally carried out to investigate intralingual and intersemiotic practices would act as the forces which try to drive these practices closer to the centre and which at the same time reconfirm the centrality of interlingual translation for repeatedly using it as a parameter of comparison.

If our aim is an integrated and homogeneous definition of translation, then I suggest we start looking beyond such classifications. A suitable way to do so would be to focus on the similarities shared by translational phenomena and on how these phenomena collaboratively contribute to the introduction and dissemination of cultural products. My study shows that this goal is attainable by conducting a parallel analysis of refractions in the form of translations, abridgments, re-editions, popular and children's adaptations and illustrations of *Gulliver's Travels*. Each of these types of reworking is seen as implying a translational process whose aim is to accommodate the text of Swift's work to different linguistic, social, cultural and literary contexts. Analysis shows how reworkings conjunctively operated to transform *Gulliver's Travels* from a political and philosophical satire into a popular and children's book within the Italian and the British literary polysystems. My approach works inversely to that conventionally followed in existing studies of translational phenomena. As we have seen, the call for open definitions of translation often results in classifications whereby intralingual and intersemiotic processes of textual transfer are distinguished from and subordinated to interlingual translation. This study begins with an exploration of the role of translation in introducing *Gulliver's Travels* into the Italian literary polysystem. As the analysis of the Italian editions progresses and eventually coalesces with that of the British versions, the definition of translation expands to include abridgments, restored editions, adaptations and illustrations.

The comparison of the Italian and British reworkings of *Gulliver's Travels* draws on analytical approaches used in Descriptive Translation Studies and is carried out from a polysystemic perspective. Accordingly, the textual transformations which they enact are evaluated in close relation to the social, cultural and literary context in which they are prompted. Crucial in this framework of analysis is also the establishment of the role played by the various agents involved in the production, in the distribution and in the consumption of the reworkings.

In the following section I provide details of how I selected the editions of *Gulliver's Travels* included in my study and of the method that I adopted to analyse them.

### **1.3 In search of a systematic methodology of analysis**

Previously in this chapter (section 1.1), I mentioned that since its debut on the literary scene, *Gulliver's Travels* has shifted across a wide range of forms and genres. As a result of this transformative process, the work has become available in a remarkably high number of editions. On the basis of online library catalogues and of subject-

specific databases, I estimate that 426 British and 648 Italian editions were published between 1726 and 2009, the year in which my study began<sup>5</sup>. These numbers prompted my decision to focus on the period between the appearance of the first edition and of the earliest children's versions, hence on Italian editions published between 1729 and 1890 and British editions published between 1726 and 1776. As already specified in the introduction, Chapter Three will clarify the reasons why it was necessary to extend the analysis of the Italian editions of *Gulliver's Travels* to the nineteenth century. Below is the list of the Italian editions<sup>6</sup>.

Year	Publisher	Title and subtitle	Place of publication
1729	G. Corona	Viaggj del Capitano Lemuel Gulliver in diversi Paesi lontani	Venice
1840	Borroni & Scotti	Viaggi di Gulliver narrati da G. Swift	Milan
1842	Stella	Viaggi di Gulliver nelle lontane regioni. Edizione illustrata.	Milan
1865	G. Bestetti	Viaggi di Gulliver	Milan
1868	E. Sonzogno	Almanacco illustrato del meraviglioso viaggio di Gulliver a Laputa	Milan
1874	S. Muggiani	Viaggi di Gulliver	Milan
1876	Flli. Treves	I viaggi di Gulliver a Lilliput, Brobdingnag e nel paese degli Houyhnhm di Swift. Tradotto dall'inglese e abbreviato ad uso dei fanciulli	Milan
1877	G. B. Paravia	Viaggio di Gulliver a Lilliput. Edizione classica con biografia e note filologiche e storiche ad uso degli studenti di lingua inglese	Turin
1883	E. Sonzogno	I viaggi di Gulliver	Milan
1886	E. Perino	Viaggi di Gulliver narrati da G. Swift illustrati da Gino de Bini	Rome
1887	A. G. Cairo	Il viaggio di Gulliver al paese di Lilliput	Codogno
1890	P. Carrara	La storia dei viaggi di Gulliver narrata ai giovinetti da Maria Viani Visconti Cavanna	Milan

Table 1 Italian editions of *Gulliver's Travels* published between 1729 and 1890

The metamorphosis of *Gulliver's Travels* into a children's book across the Italian reworkings is compared, in Chapter Four, with the transformations taking place in three British editions, respectively the first abridgment and the earliest chapbook and children's edition currently available.

<sup>5</sup> The list of the British editions was obtained primarily via the consultation of COPAC and ECCO (Eighteenth Century Collection On-line). A search across OPAC SBN, the online collective catalogue of the libraries registered in the Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (National Library Service) made it possible to estimate the number of the Italian editions.

<sup>6</sup> The list does not include reprints.

Year	Publisher	Title and subtitle	Place of publication
1727	Stone & King	Travels into several Remote Regions of the World. By Capt. Lemuel Gulliver, Faithfully Abridged	London
1750(?)	?	The Travels and Adventures of Capt. Lemuel Gulliver	London
1776	F. Newbery	The Adventures of Captain Gulliver, in a Voyage to the Islands of Lilliput and Brobdingnag. Abridged from the Works of the celebrated Dean Swift	London

Table 2 British reworkings of *Gulliver's Travels* subject to analysis

In order to identify a suitable method of analysis of the Italian and British reworkings, I assessed the workability of the models of translation description developed by Toury (1980), Lambert and Van Gorp (1985) and Van Leuven-Zwart (1989, 1990).

Toury founded his study on the premise that a direct comparison between source and target text should be mediated by an invariant of comparison, the *tertium comparationis* or 'Adequate Translation' (AT) (1980, p.49). This is essentially a hypothetical source-oriented construct in which the textual relations and functions of the original are made explicit. As noted by Hermans, however, the *tertium comparationis* is a translation to all extents and purposes and, as such, it entails an interpretive process which is "bound to render the invariant pretty unstable" (1999, p.57). The fundamental contradiction implied by the AT model eventually led Toury to discard it (Hermans, 1999, p.57).

Van Leuven-Zwart was also attracted by the idea of an invariable of comparison. She suggests that source and target segments, the 'transeemes', should be compared with a common denominator, the 'architranseeme'. The architranseeme is to be identified "with the help of a good descriptive dictionary in each of the two languages involved" (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989, p.158). The classification of the changes identified during the micro-level comparison is supplemented with the analysis of the macro-level. This entails a laborious process in which Halliday's functions of language (interpersonal, ideational and textual), are applied to narratological analysis (see van Leuven-Zwart, 1990).

A series of weaknesses have been identified which question the workability of van Leuven-Zwart's methodology (see for example Hermans, 1999, pp.62-63; Munday, 2001, p.66). Van Leuven-Zwart states that her model "is intended for the description of integral translations of fictional narrative texts" (1989, p.154). However, the model is so complex that it cannot be applied to long texts. The use of a dictionary definition as *tertium comparationis* is inadequate for the identification and the description of stylistic



shifts and phenomena like “intertextuality, allusion, irony, wordplay, the impact of syntactic differences, certain discourse features like cohesion, the use of genre-specific conventions” (Hermans, 1999, p.63). There is lack of clarity with regard to the modality with which micro- and macro-structure interrelate. Most importantly, texts are alienated from their literary, cultural, historical context and treated “as if they existed in a vacuum” (ibid.).

Of the three models, Lambert and van Gorp’s is the most thorough and, at the same time, the most manageable. The model essentially consists of a “theoretical and hypothetical” scheme (Lambert & van Gorp, 1985, p.45) which comprises “all functional aspects of a given translational activity in its historical context, including the process of translation, its textual features, its reception, and even sociological aspects like distribution and translation criticism” (ibid.). Advocates of Even-Zohar’s (1978) and Toury’s systemic view of translated literature, Lambert and van Gorp perceive the source and target contexts as open systems which interact with each other as well as with other systems. Accordingly, they propose a view of translation as the result of the relations between individual texts (originals and translations), authors, and readers within the respective systems and between the source and the target systems. In order to illustrate their theoretical framework they provide the following scheme

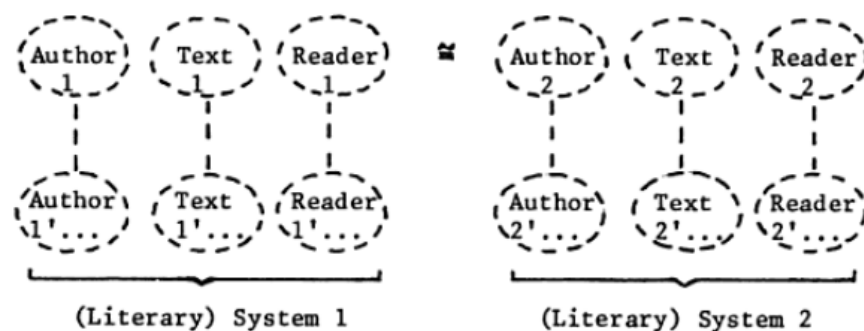


Fig.1 Scheme as presented by Lambert and van Gorp, 1985, p.43

The numbers 1 and 2 identify respectively the source and target literary systems. The symbol between the two systems indicates that these are linked by an open relation, “the exact nature of which will depend on the priorities of the translator’s behaviour - which in turn has to be seen in function of the dominant norms of the target system (Lambert and van Gorp, 1985, p.43). The broken lines symbolise the openness of the systems and the dynamicity of the relationships between different authors, texts and readers within the same (poly)system.

The adoption of this scheme, according to Lambert and van Gorp, makes it possible to study such problems as

- whether a particular translation of a contemporary or ancient text is presented and regarded as a translation or not;
- the vocabulary, style, poetical and rhetorical conventions within both original and translation;
- translation criticism and translation theory in particular literatures at particular times;
- groups of translations and groups of ‘schools’ of translators;
- the role of translations in the development of a given literature (conservative versus innovative functions; exotic or non-exotic functions etc.) (1985, p.45).

The process of description of the translation is articulated in four stages, each closing with the formulation of hypotheses to be verified during the gradual progression of the analysis. The first stage entails the collection of ‘preliminary data’ through the examination of the translation’s paratextual and metatextual features (title page, preface, footnotes,...). The second stage involves an investigation of the ‘macro-level’ and consists of the description of the text’s formal characteristics (division and presentation of the text) and narrative structure (type of narrative, plot,...). The ‘micro-level’ is analysed during the third stage. Here, attention is paid to “shifts on [the] phonic, graphic, micro-syntactic, lexico-semantic, stylistic, elocutionary and modal level” (Lambert and van Gorp, 1985, p.52). Finally comes the analysis of the ‘systemic context’. This aims at identifying the “oppositions between micro- and macro-levels and between text and theory” (ibid.) as well as the translation’s intertextual and intersystemic relations illustrated in the scheme reported above.

Once the analysis is complete, the hypotheses formulated in the four stages are elaborated and conclusions are drawn.

The model developed by Lambert and van Gorp constitutes a good frame of reference for the analysis of the versions of *Gulliver’s Travels* included in my study. The model is characterised by a high degree of flexibility which makes it suitable for the description not only of translations in the strictest sense but also of other types of reworkings including abridgments, adaptations and illustrations. Lambert and van Gorp provide a practical step-by-step guide through the investigation of the textual, intertextual and intersystemic features of the text under consideration. Their checklist is a useful point of departure for the identification of the shifts implemented by translators, adaptors and illustrators in connection to the systemic

forces which prompted them and to the changes in the reception of Swift's work.

I opted to use a slightly adapted version of Lambert and van Gorp's model. The investigation of the 'systemic context', which in the original model is carried out last, is conducted before the collection of the 'preliminary data'. This is because, as we remember, the exploration of the context in which rewritings originate is fundamental to interpret formal and conceptual differences between source and target text. During the analysis of the systemic context, more weight is given to the collection of information about the agents involved in the production, distribution and reception of the reworking under consideration. In order to simplify the process of analysis, the gathering of 'preliminary data' and the analysis of the 'macro-level' are carried out simultaneously and merged under the single heading 'macro-level'. The specification of whether the text under consideration is illustrated, which is missing in the original model, is included in this level. As in Lambert and van Gorp's study, the identification and the observation of the micro-textual shifts take place during the third stage of the analysis. I would like to clarify that in the context of this study the term 'shift' stands for any of the micro or macro differences between source and target text created by translators, abridgers, adaptors, illustrators to adapt the source to the new cultural, social and literary context. In the final stage of the analysis I evaluate how the macro- and micro-shifts relate to each other and to the information on the systemic context gathered during the initial stage.

The application of Lambert and van Gorp's model is fairly straightforward. However, the model fails to provide concrete guidelines on how to carry out the actual comparison of source and target text, thus raising a fundamental problem (Hermans, 1999, p.68). The model is designed to be applied to short passages (Lambert and van Gorp, 1985, p.49) but no suggestion is given on how to select them and on what basis these are to be considered representative. Due to the length of *Gulliver's Travels* and to the considerable number of source and target texts considered in my study, the selection of passages is mandatory. Useful suggestions on how to proceed with the selection are provided by Luc van Doorslaer (1995; see also Hermans, 1999, p.70), who applies quantitative and qualitative sampling methods used in the Social Sciences (see for instance Patton, 1987) to literary translation. According to van Doorslaer, it is important that samples are selected on the basis of their specific features as well as of their translational relevance. He

suggests that sample selection should consist of a “search for a delicate equilibrium between quantitative and qualitative requirements” (1995, p.247). Quantitative requirements are satisfied when a balanced relationship between exhaustiveness and representativeness is obtained. In order for this to be possible, “[t]he sample should be large enough to be credible given the purpose of the evaluation, but small enough to permit adequate depth and detail for each case or unit in the sample” (Patton, in van Doorslaer, 1995, p.247). Qualitative requirements, on the other hand, are satisfied when the samples are translationally relevant. Translational relevance can only be established on the basis of the information conveyed by already available extra-textual material. Like James S. Holmes (1988) and Christiane Nord (1992), van Doorslaer believes that the interplay of intra-textual factors and “contextual, intertextual, and situational elements” (Holmes, in van Doorslaer, 1985, p.253) should play an important role in sample selection as well as in general translation description. In fact, he suggests, the consultation of extra-textual material should constitute the preliminary phase of the selection process and therefore should precede quantitative selection. This supports my decision to move the analysis of the ‘systemic context’ to a preliminary phase of the process of analysis.

The reflections advanced by van Doorslaer assisted me in the selection of my sample passages. A preliminary investigation of the reception history of *Gulliver’s Travels* and the considerations which emerged during the selection of the versions to include in my study led me to restrict the micro-textual analysis only to Part I. *A Voyage to Lilliput* has always been one of the most successful parts of Swift’s work and is the only voyage to be included in many abridgments and adaptations (see for example the 1750 British chapbook and Cairo’s 1887 Italian edition). Due to its omnipresence in the publication history of *Gulliver’s Travels*, the voyage to Lilliput has come to be regarded as the most emblematic and the best known of the four voyages. It is no exaggeration to affirm that on many occasions, the reception of *Gulliver’s Travels* has actually been the reception of *A Voyage to Lilliput*.

The decision to concentrate on only one voyage made easier the selection of the passages to submit to micro-textual analysis. The passages selected refer to the most iconic and visual episodes of Gulliver’s adventures in Lilliput. The fact that these passages have been illustrated in many editions of *Gulliver’s Travels* contributed to their popularity and made them memorable.

The first passage is contained in Chapter I and refers to what is probably one of

the most popular episodes of Swift's work. Gulliver swims to the shores of Lilliput after his ship was destroyed by a storm. Exhausted, he falls asleep and on his awakening he finds himself tied to the ground and being inspected by the minuscule Lilliputians. As Gulliver attempts to free himself, the frightened Lilliputians attack him with volleys of arrows and prick him with their spears.

The second passage is an extract from Chapter III. It describes the curious custom of Lilliputian aspiring politicians to show their dexterity at rope-dancing and at leaping over and creeping under a stick to win the favour of the Emperor. The three most able candidates are rewarded during a ceremony with threads of different colours. This passage is highly satirical and alludes to the corrupted system of preferment and patronage which reigned in England during Walpole's government (1721-1742). The coloured threads are a clear reference to the orders of chivalry which had been restored by Walpole (see Scott, 1814, p.52; Dennis, 1899, p.40; Lock, 1980, pp.79-80; Rivero, 2002, p.32).

The third passage, an extract from Chapter IV, provides two of the most vivid examples of Swift's allegorical satire. The passage reports a conversation during which Reldresal, the Emperor's Principal Secretary, informs Gulliver about the two strifes which afflict Lilliput. First, Gulliver learns of the internal quarrels between two parties, the Tramecksan, or High-Heels and the Slamecksan, or Low-Heels. Then, Reldresal tells about the long-lasting war between Lilliput and the empire of Blefuscu. The war, he explains, originated because of an edict emanated by the Emperor's grandfather to forbid the Lilliputians to open their eggs at the big end. The tensions between Tramecksan and Slamecksan are generally interpreted as a caricature of the disputes between Tories and Whigs (see Hawkesworth, 1755, p.33; Rivero, 2002, p.39). The ridiculous conflict between Lilliput and Blefuscu, on the other hand, is commonly interpreted as an allegory of the long series of religious conflicts between Catholic France and Protestant England (see Dennis, 1899, p.49; Scott, 1814, p.65; Rivero, 2002, p.40).

In the fourth and last passage, which is contained in Chapter V, Gulliver extinguishes a fire in the emperor's palace by urinating on it. Although a Lilliputian law strictly forbids "to make Water within the Precincts of the Palace" (Swift, 1726, p.91), Gulliver is not punished for his action. However, the Empress is so offended and disgusted that she cannot forgive him. The passage is generally interpreted as an allusion to Queen Anne's refusal to assign Swift a high position in the Anglican

Church because she was outraged by the blasphemous *A Tale of a Tub* (1704) (see Dennis, 1899, p.57; Scott, 1814, p.75; Rivero, 2002, p.47). The vulgarity of Gulliver's action inevitably poses a remarkable challenge to translators, retellers and illustrators, thus making the passage an attractive object of analysis.

The micro-textual analysis of the reworkings included in the study is carried out by juxtaposing the four passages of source and target text directly. The actual comparison is preceded by a preparatory phase which consists of dismembering the source and target text passages into sentences. An indication of the word count for each of the passages is also provided in this stage. This indication permits to determine whether there is a prevalence of amplifying or reductive shifts, thus making it possible to advance conjectures on the general strategy followed by the translator. The source and the target passages are then compared sentence by sentence to examine the formal, conceptual and narratological shifts which accommodate the source text to the new target situation. The comparison of the shifts across the different reworkings is expected to illustrate how *Gulliver's Travels* evolved diachronically into new forms and genres while gaining increasing popularity within the literary polysystem.

Having contextualised my research and described the method I adopt to achieve my research aims, let us now focus on *Gulliver's Travels* and to the complex and multifaceted process of reworking to which it has been subjected.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### ***Gulliver's Travels*: a work in constant progress**

#### **2.1 The renegotiation of the significance of *Gulliver's Travels***

The popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* and the appearance of its reworkings can be attributed, in large part, to the critical discussion and the representations of its complex meanings and satirical implications. This chapter will investigate the characteristics which have exposed *Gulliver's Travels* to continuous rethinking and reworking and the complex textual problem which these have caused since the work's appearance on the literary scene.

*Gulliver's Travels* recounts the voyages of surgeon and ship captain Lemuel Gulliver to unknown and improbable lands. It is composed of four parts, each containing an account of a single voyage. Within each part the narration develops following a fixed scheme of four macro-sections. All voyages open with Gulliver's accidental arrival on a far-off island. He is shipwrecked on the shores of Lilliput in Part I, left behind by his crew and seized by the giant Brobdingnagians in Part II and captured by pirates and abandoned in the proximities of Laputa in Part III and of the country of the Houyhnhnms in Part IV. In the second and longest section Gulliver gradually becomes acquainted with the place and with the customs of its inhabitants. Prominence is given to his conversations with the local authorities during which the European, and in particular the English cultural, social and political systems are compared with those of the host island. In the third section adverse circumstances prompt Gulliver to leave. He escapes from Lilliput under the charge of treason and after having been threatened with torture. An eagle puts an end to the humiliations he suffered in Brobdingnag by carrying him away. In Part III the cruelty and the obsessive preoccupations of the Laputans, the foolish experiments conducted by the academics of Lagado, the revelations of the sorcerers in Glubdubdrib and the torments which afflict the immortal Struldbrugs make Gulliver's stay unbearable. During the last voyage the evident similarities shared by Gulliver and the bestial Yahoos induce the civilised Houyhnhnms to send him away. At the end of each voyage Gulliver is rescued from the sea by a passing ship and taken back to England.

*Gulliver's Travels* resembles, at least in appearance, many of the travel narratives which circulated in eighteenth-century Britain. The original title, *Travels into several*

*Remote Nations of the World*, the fact that its presumed author is “a Captain of several Ships” and that it contains detailed maps and tables, make it difficult to distinguish Swift’s work from the accounts of real or fictitious ship captains popular at that time. Conspicuous similarities are especially observed with William Dampier’s *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697) and William Symson’s *A New Voyage to the East-Indies* (1715)<sup>7</sup>, from which Swift is thought to have drawn inspiration (see for example Ehrenpreis, 1983, p.329; Aikins, 1990, p.226).

The style and the form with which Swift reports Gulliver’s discoveries also align his work to contemporary travel writing. The meticulous precision and the clarity of expression used to recount the four voyages conform to the stylistic regulations promoted by the Royal Society of London, leading scientific institution and principal sponsor of expeditions to the Old and the New World since the 1660s (see Smith, 1990, p.145). Aware of the “habitual association of travel narratives with tall tales and of travelers with liars” (McKeon, 2002 [1987], p.100), the Royal Society urged that the reports of authentic voyages ought be distinguished from the imaginary adventures in which the British reading public was developing an increasing interest. Explorers were exhorted to systematically collect their data and record their observations with greater scientific rigour, objectiveness and plainness (Boyle, 2000, p.56; Reilly, 2006, p.123). As true travel accounts became more accurate, however, so did their imitations. Symson’s ‘travel lie’ *A New Voyage to the East-Indies* (Adams, 1962, p.1), Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, and Daniel Defoe’s *The Life and strange surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* (1719) are among the most representative and successful examples of this tendency. In the aim of achieving as realistic an effect as possible, Symson, Swift and Defoe modelled their works on the scientific accounts commissioned by the Royal Society, thus imbuing them with times, measurements, circumstantial details, specialised maritime terminology, and scrupulous descriptions.

The homogenisation of the conventions of imaginary and real voyages (McKeon, 2002, p.352) made it difficult for the readers of travel narratives to distinguish truth from fiction. This disorientation did not spare the earliest readers of *Gulliver’s Travels*. On 5 November 1726, one week after the publication of the first edition, John Arbuthnot informed Swift that he had “lent the Book to an old Gentleman who

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<sup>7</sup> “Richard Sympson”, the name of Gulliver’s editor as well as cousin (see “The Publisher to the Reader” prefaced to *Gulliver’s Travels*), is often interpreted as an allusion to William Symson (see Rivero, 2002, p.6). The same name was used by Swift during the negotiations with the publisher Benjamin Motte in 1726. An explicit allusion to Dampier and his work appears in ‘A Letter from Capt. Gulliver, to his Cousin Sympson’, which prefaced George Faulkner’s 1735 edition. Dampier is also referred to as Gulliver’s cousin (see Adams, 1962, p.1).



immediately went to his Map to search for Lilly putt [sic]” (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.180)<sup>8</sup>. In his commentary to Swift’s work (see p.39), Signor Corolini observed that “so remote are these Nations that you never found any of them in the Maps [...]. Therefore we must allow Mr. Gulliver to be the Columbus of the present Age [...].” (1726, p.6)<sup>9</sup>. The irony which might be seen as underpinning these statements might lead us think that Signor Corolini is actually mocking gullible readers. Examples of explicit scepticism can also be found. In a letter to Pope dated 27 November 1726 Swift reported that “a Bishop here said, that Book was full of improbable lies, and for his part, he hardly believed a word of it” (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.189). Discussion of the authenticity of *Gulliver’s Travels* situated the work within the general discourse on the eighteenth-century travel narrative, a discourse founded on the opposition between those aware that no matter how “conscientiously correct”, travel accounts always “stretched or sliced or varnished” the truth (Adams, 1962, p.9), and those who took everything they read at face value.

There is reason to believe that Swift and his friends of the Scriblerus club played an important part in instigating the debate on the veracity of Gulliver’s stories<sup>10</sup>. Some of the remarks which they claimed to have recorded had clearly been fabricated purposely as part of Swift’s satirical game (see for example Loveman, 2008, p.167 and *Corr.*, vol.III, pp.180-182). For as far as Swift was concerned, travel narrative was not fit for anything else but help him fulfil his satirical purposes. In this sense, despite the appearances, his work has little to do with conventional eighteenth-century travel writing. It is, rather, a *parody* of travel narrative, a derision of those authors who concealed an “abundance of trash” (Swift, 1722 in *Corr.*, vol.II, p.431) with false declarations and a scientific use of language, as well as of the gullible and naive readers who trusted them blindly. The parody, as Nil Korkut explains, “emerges mainly through the way Gulliver criticizes contemporary travel accounts while he himself also engages in the creation of one” (2009, p.46). Korkut’s words make a clear allusion to the closing paragraphs of the voyage to the country of the Houyhnhnms, the part in which Swift’s mockery of travel narrative finds fullest expression. Here, Gulliver claims to have given his readers “a faithful History of my Travels for sixteen years and above seven

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<sup>8</sup> *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, edited by Harold Williams, 1963-1965

<sup>9</sup> In the introduction to the 1970 edition of *A Letter From a Clergyman to his Friend* (1726) Martin Kallich confidently affirms that ‘Signor Corolini’ is a pseudonym of the London printer and bookseller Edmund Curl (p.ii). The same association was made by Ralph Straus in 1927. Kathleen Williams reports that the pseudonym is sometimes connected to Arbuthnot (1970, p.10).

<sup>10</sup> The Scriblerus club was a literary club which included Swift and his close friends Alexander Pope, John Arbuthnot, John Gay, Thomas Parnell and Robert Harley. The project of the club was to satirise “all the false tastes in learning” (Pope, in Spence, 1820, p.10) under the guise of the fictitious hack writer Martin Scriblerus.

months: wherein I have not been so studious of Ornament as of Truth". He proclaims himself to have nothing in common with "some writers" who, "to make their Works pass the better upon the Publick, impose the grossest Falsities on the unwary Reader". Their conduct, continues Gulliver, "hath given me a great Disgust against this Part of Reading, and some Indignation to see the Credulity of Mankind so impudently abused". Finally, he reasserts the authenticity of his narrative by declaring that "I imposed on myself as a Maxim, never to be swerved from, that I would *strictly adhere to Truth*; neither indeed can I be ever under the least Temptation to vary from it" (Swift, 1726, vol.II, p.186, emphasis in the original). Claims of truthfulness are also made in the prefatory notice 'The Publisher to the Reader' signed 'Richard Sympson'. Sympson declares that Gulliver, "an antient and intimate Friend" and a relative of his (p.v), is so well known for "his Veracity" that he "became a sort of Proverb among his Neighbours at *Redriff*, when any one affirm'd a Thing, to say, it was as true as if Mr. *Gulliver* had spoke it" (p.vii)<sup>11</sup>.

But Swift's critical intentions go much further than mocking contemporary travel narratives. Partaking of John Locke's belief that "travel accounts gave experimental knowledge of human nature and behaviour" (Aarsleff, 1982, p.45, in Boyle, 2000, p.56), Swift provides a caricature not only of authors and readers of travel narratives, but of all his contemporaries and of mankind in general (see for example Williams, 1965b, p.x)<sup>12</sup>. Under the narration of Gulliver's exploits, he grafts a complex network of political and philosophical critical reflections which often take the form of direct and pungent assaults.

The division of the work into four parts creates the ideal conditions for Swift's criticism to build up to a satirical crescendo. The customs of the tiny Lilliputians function as a vehicle to condemn the corruption, the arrogance and the unquenchable thirst for power and wealth which reigned in eighteenth-century English political life and which, according to Swift, had been the cause of many social and religious conflicts. In the second voyage the satire assumes a more general character and addresses the malice, the pride and the vices of men, who, to the eyes of the giant and

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<sup>11</sup> Sympson's preface also constitutes for Swift an occasion to criticise the prolixity of conventional travel narrative. Sympson states that, since "the Author, after the Manner of Travellers, is a little too Circumstantial" (p.vii), he had to intervene to "fit the Work to the general Capacity of Readers" (p.ix). "This Volume", he declares, "would have been at least twice as large, if I had not made bold to strike out innumerable Passages relating to the Winds and Tides, as well as to the Variations and Bearings in the several Voyages; together with the minute Descriptions of the Management of the Ship in Storms, in the Style of Sailors: Likewise the Account of the Longitudes and Latitudes" (p.viii).

<sup>12</sup> Hans Aarsleff specifies that "travel accounts were to him [Locke] what the laboratory and experiments were to men in the Royal Society" (in Boyle, 2000, p.45).

civilised Brobdingnagians, are no more than “little odious vermin” (1726, p.121). In Part III the gullibility of Swift’s contemporaries is juxtaposed with the foolishness and the ineptitude of the Laputans. Criticism is primarily directed against those institutions which, like the Royal Society, promote excessive confidence in reason and in scientific speculation to the detriment of faith in religion as well as in classical history and philosophy. The satire reaches its peak in the last voyage. Here, readers are challenged and invited to position themselves and all mankind on a continuum whose extremes are represented by the rational Houyhnhnms and the coarse Yahoos. Swift reveals his view by appointing Gulliver the representative of all men who, blind with pride and lust for perfection, fail to realise that they are only animals capable of reason. This message is clearly reflected in Gulliver’s inability to accept that he is essentially a Yahoo and in his resolution to live in the stable in the company of his horses rather than sharing the house with his family.

Swift’s project of assigning to the four voyages different satirical themes and different levels of satirical strength has always been clear to the readers of his work. The comments raised following the publication of the first edition of *Gulliver’s Travels* testify that the voyage to the country of the Houyhnhnms had already been labelled as the most polemical and offensive and the voyage to Lilliput as the most light-hearted and entertaining. On 17 November 1726 Gay informed Swift that the “Satire on general societies of men” had generally been judged “too severe” and that Bolingbroke, another of Swift’s intimate friends, had defined Gulliver’s intention a “design of evil consequence to depreciate human nature”. Disapproval, added Gay, came also from some of those “who frequent the Church”, who considered Gulliver’s misanthropy as “impious” and as “an insult on Providence” (*Corr.*, vol.III, pp.182-183). The anonymous author of *A Letter from a Clergyman to his Friend* (1726) described the voyage to the country of the Houyhnhnms as a “long tedious part” providing a portrait of “humane Nature” “so monstrously absurd and unjust” and filled with “shocking things”. As for the other parts, it is claimed that “had Care been taken to have adapted them to modest virtuous Minds, by leaving out some gross Words and lewd Descriptions [...], they would undoubtedly have proved diverting, agreeable, and acceptable to all” (pp.7-8). Surely, these “gross words and lewd Descriptions” had not actually prevented the first three voyages from becoming widely appreciated. In fact, they might have added attractiveness to the allusions to specific places, events and people with which they are imbued and which were so appreciated by eighteenth-century British readers. Having come across people “in search for particular

applications in every leaf”, Gay anticipated that “we shall have keys published to give light into Gulliver’s design” (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.183). Such a prediction was soon afterwards confirmed by the proliferation of remarks and commentaries intended to satisfy readers’ growing eagerness for readily available interpretations. On 24 November 1726 *Mist’s Weekly Journal* advertised the publication of *A Key, being Observations and Explanatory Notes upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver*. This was the first of four letters claiming to be written by Signor Corolini to Swift<sup>13</sup>. Each letter provides a detailed commentary on one of Gulliver’s voyages. Corolini’s insights range from the most straightforward associations between Lilliput and England, Tramecksan and Tories and Slamecksan and Whigs, to identifications which require more interpretative effort. Examples include the parallels between the temple “polluted some years before by an unnatural murder” (Swift, 1726, p.22) and “the Banqueting House at White-Hall, before which Structure King Charles I was Beheaded” (Corolini, 1726, letter I, pp.6-7) as well as the tempests and the hurricanes through which Gulliver sailed for above a Year (Swift, 1726, pp.2-5) and the South-Sea and Mississippi Bubbles (Corolini, 1726, letter II, p.4)<sup>14</sup>.

The criticism raised by the controversial insinuations of the fourth voyage and the hunt for specific circumstantial and political allusions continued to persist. Old associations with real people, places and events were continuously confirmed or challenged while new ones were introduced. The discussion of the significance of Part IV assumed increasingly accusatory tones, as testified by Lord Orrery’s defamatory *Remarks on the life and writing of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (1752). Like previous critics, Orrery considers Gulliver’s misanthropy offensive and “intolerable” (1752, p.117). His judgment, however, goes deeper and takes the form of what Fox defines as a “psychobiographical critique” (1995, p.273). Orrery searches for the reasons which instigated such an “insult upon Mankind” (1752, p.121) and claims to have found them in Swift’s troubled mind and disappointed ambitions (1752, p.42; see also Williams, 1970, p.15 and Fox, p.273). Orrery’s conclusions were most fervently opposed by Patrick Delaney (1754), Deane Swift (1755), John Hawkesworth (1755) and Thomas Sheridan (1784), who reproached him for having provided a distorted representation of

<sup>13</sup> The three remaining letters were published at short intervals by the end of the year. Corolini’s keys were sold both separately and in a single volume entitled *Lemuel Gulliver’s Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. Compendiously methodized, for publick Benefit; with Observations and explanatory Notes throughout*. The other letters were bound up with Motte’s December reprint and appeared in later editions of the *Travels* (Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.244). The four keys were translated in 1727 into German and in 1728 into Dutch and into French.

<sup>14</sup> The financial scandals known as ‘South-sea Bubble’ and ‘Mississippi Bubble’ profoundly damaged the economies of respectively Britain and France in 1720.

Swift's character (Williams, 1970, pp.15-19; Fox, 1995, pp.273-276). Deane Swift and Sheridan objected to Orrery's interpretation of the voyage to the country of the Houyhnhnms with particular determination. The image of a work conceived by the mind of "savage and miserly misanthrope" (Williams, 1970, p.2), gives way, in Deane Swift's interpretation, to that of a comical allegory intended to "laugh [sic] vice and immorality" (1775, p.207). Sheridan confirms the integrity of Swift's intentions by revealing what according to him is the true significance of the allegorical opposition between Yahoos and Houyhnhnms. By clothing "pure unmixed vice [...] with the body of a man" and "perfect unadulterated virtue [...] with the body of a horse" (1784, p.503), claims Sheridan, Swift reveals "in what the true dignity and perfection of man's nature consists" and points out "the way by which it may be attained" (ibid.). No matter how convincing, the arguments advanced by Swift's supporters did not succeed in smothering Orrery's malicious inferences. On the contrary, the perception of *Gulliver's Travels* as an indecent work and of Swift as a lunatic misanthrope persisted. Samuel Richardson, Edward Young, James Beattie, Samuel Johnson and James Harris are believed to have greatly contributed to the establishment of these views in the eighteenth century (Williams, 1970, pp.20-22; Fox, 1995, p.275). In the nineteenth century the reputation of Swift and of *Gulliver's Travels* was further compromised by the attacks of Thomas Babington Macaulay (1833) and William Makepeace Thackeray (1853). The two critics reaffirm the previous century's allegations of Swift's insanity and misanthropy while expressing their abhorrence for Swift's frequent allusions to filth, excrements and bodily functions (Williams, 1970, p.26). If Macaulay attacks Swift for having a mind "richly stored with images from the dunghill and the lazar-house" (1833, p.538), Thackeray ruthlessly calls him a "monster gibbering shrieks, and gnashing imprecations against mankind, - tearing down all shreds of modesty, past all sense of manliness and shame; filthy in words, filthy in thought, furious, raging, obscene" (1853, p.37).

The severity of the attacks launched against Swift and *Gulliver's Travels* gradually eased off as the discussion of the allegorical significance of the last voyage progressed into the twentieth century. The discussion took the form of an open and civilised debate conducted by two schools of thoughts named by James L. Clifford (1974) the 'hard' and 'soft' schools. The 'hard' approach, explains Clifford, is "an interpretation which stresses the shock and the difficulty of the work, with almost tragic overtones" (1974, p.33). The supporters of this approach see in the Houyhnhnms a model of virtue and perfection to which Gulliver and mankind aspire but which they cannot attain (see for

example Sherburn, 1958, p.97). To this essentially pessimistic and misanthropic view, the ‘soft’ school opposes the reading of Part IV as “a comic satire on man’s foolish pride and his gullibility in taking too seriously all impossible and unattractive ideals” (p.40). Led by Kathleen Williams (1958) the followers of this approach hold the Houyhnhnms to be as imperfect as the Yahoos and suggest that Gulliver’s infatuation with the formers should be taken ironically.

As the discussion of the message of the fourth voyage proceeded, the political side of Swift’s satire received new attention. If on the one hand more efforts were devoted to the identification of specific targets (see for example Firth, 1919 and Case, 1958 [1945]), on the other, this very concept of specificity was convincingly challenged. F. P. Lock argues that the established and obstinate determination to look for political allusions diverted attention from Swift’s original intent, namely to “create a general satire on the follies of European civilization as a whole, not just the failings of contemporary English society” (1980, p.69). Lock defends the general character of Swift’s satire by arguing that not only do direct allusions constitute a small minority, but they also are “subordinated to the expression of the general political philosophy that he [Swift] had never before given himself the opportunity to expound at length” (1980, p.87). Simon Varey adopts a similar position and observes that “although the characters seem in some places to represent real people from among Swift’s contemporaries, they do not do [so] in others” (1990, p.39). He then reinforces his point by reflecting on the role of the reader and stressing that in *Gulliver’s Travels* “general implications lay behind specific allusions, prompting alert readers to recognise a reference [...] when they see one” (1990, p.41). In other words, Swift invites readers to be critical interpreters and grants them the freedom to “devise [their] own response to what has been anatomized and exposed to ridicule” (Suarez, 2003, p.121). Accordingly, it is the individual reader who is left to evaluate whether Flimnap represents only Walpole or any vicious man, whether Lilliput designates solely England or any country governed by a corrupt political system, and whether the rebellion of Lindalino alludes specifically to the Irish revolt against William Wood’s currency scheme or symbolises the injustice suffered by all colonised and oppressed nations.

By contrast with previous centuries, twentieth-century criticism of *Gulliver’s Travels* was not confined to the discussion of the political and philosophical significance of the voyages to Lilliput and to the country of the Houyhnhnms. As the other two voyages received increasing attention and Swift’s work came to be perceived as a unitary whole, critical discourse opened up to the new interpretations which

emerged as the result of the application of scientific, psychological, feminist and religious approaches<sup>15</sup>. The multiplication and the diversification of critical readings was accompanied by a growing interest in the artistic value of Swift's work (Williams, 1970, p.27). A growing number of scholars committed themselves to exploring Swift's rhetorical, linguistic, stylistic and narrative method, as well as his relationship with Gulliver and with his readers (see for example Ross, 1964; Quintana, 1948; Price, 1953; Rawson, 1973, 1998). The identification of the sources which affected the shaping and the writing of *Gulliver's Travels* also became a popular scholarly topic. Attention has been directed to both Swift's personal experiences (see for example Fabricant, 1982; Reilly, 1982; McKeon, 1987; McMinn, 1992) and to his reading habits. In 1814 Sir Walter Scott pointed out that *Gulliver's Travels* shares a network of intertextual relations with an impressive variety of sources. These range from the works of "ancient authors" such as Herodotus, Aristotle, Pliny, Solinus and Philostratus (vol.XII, p.6) to the fictitious journeys of Lucian of Samosata, Cyrano de Bergerac and Rabelais (vol.XII, p.4) and the modern travel narratives written by Defoe and Dampier (vol.XII, p.5). Scott's investigation was continued by twentieth-century researchers, who posited a connection between Swift's work and other types of sources including early modern scientific writings (Nicholson and Mohler, 1937) and practices and tales of the popular tradition (Taylor, 1957; Welcher, 1988, pp.45-51; Smedman, 1990, pp.79-80). The intertextual relations which *Gulliver's Travels* shares with such a wide range of sources and the different genres and subgenres which it encompasses have led scholars to speak of 'hybridism' and "generic instability" (Fox, 1995, p.293; Smith, 1990, p.21)<sup>16</sup>.

The exploration of the critical history of Swift's work offered in this section does not claim to be as exhaustive as those provided by Williams (1970) and Christopher Fox (1995). It suffices, however, to prove my point that the constant discussion of the satirical and allegorical significance of *Gulliver's Travels* helped the work remain visible within the literary polysystem. Even the malicious accusations made by Orrery and Thackeray did not hinder *Gulliver's Travels'* path to the acquisition of its prestigious status. In fact, they produced the opposite effect. First of all, both critics

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<sup>15</sup> For a list of authors who adopted these approaches see Fox's comprehensive account of the critical history of *Gulliver's Travels* (1995)

<sup>16</sup> The instability of the text of *Gulliver's Travels* was not determined only by the impossibility of affiliating the work with any specific literary genre. Smith observes that "in the course of his travels" Gulliver alludes to "histories, accounts of manners and customs, translations, holy books, panegyrics, scientific essays, moral treatises, laws, inventories, articles of impeachment, and his journal" (1990, p.20). He then further discusses the hybrid nature of *Gulliver's Travels* by reporting Swift's work can be read "as a narrative satire, a picaresque tale, a novel, a political allegory, a travel book, a parody of the travel book, an imaginary voyage, a philosophic voyage, and as both a utopian and antiutopian romance" (ibid.).

called attention to Swift's work for the simple reason that they made public their comments. Secondly, they provoked the reaction of Swift's supporters, thus fuelling a debate about the meaning of the work which continued well into the twentieth century and is still ongoing.

The satirical significance of *Gulliver's Travels* contributed to the work's popularity not only because it attracted critical attention, but also because it indirectly determined the shape of the refractions which extended the accessibility of the work to an increasingly broad audience. The fact that the four voyages are assigned different satirical themes affected the decision of which voyages to reproduce. In Chapter One I emphasised that the voyage to Lilliput is consistently present in the publication history of *Gulliver's Travels*. This should not surprise us if we consider that its satirical intent is not achieved through the caustic and coarse images present in the other voyages. The details and the meticulous descriptions which assimilate Gulliver's account to a genuine travel narrative, the specificity of the allusions to English political personalities and institutions and the aggressiveness of the fourth voyage have often been considered unsuitable for audiences different from those originally addressed by Swift. Chapters Three and Four will show how translators, abridgers, adaptors and illustrators of *Gulliver's Travels* frequently adapted these features, thus determining the evolution of the work across different literary forms and genres.

Swift's satirical innuendos have prompted the transformation of the text of *Gulliver's Travels* since very early stages of its publication history. As we will shortly see, the implications of Swift's satire are at the basis of the complex textual problem which arose immediately after the appearance of the princeps edition of 1726.

## **2.2 The debut of *Gulliver's Travels*: 'original' or refraction?**

### **2.2.1 The publication of Motte's editions and Swift's response**

The publication of the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* was surrounded by an air of secrecy and mystery. Pope reported that Motte received the manuscript "he knew not from whence, not from whom, dropp'd at his house in the dark, from a Hackney-coach" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.181). The obscure circumstances in which the manuscript was delivered to the publisher were part of the plan engineered by Swift and his friends with the intention to preserve the anonymity of the work. In all probability, the concealment of the authorship was an expedient aimed at retaining the illusion of authenticity of Gulliver's travel account. Swift's fear that his satirical innuendos would expose him to political prosecution is another plausible explanation (Case, 1958, p.1). This fear is very



evident in Swift's correspondence. In the letter which opened the negotiations with Motte, Swift warned the publisher that some parts of the book "may be thought in one or two places to be a little Satyrical" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.153). The letter, dated 8 August 1726, was signed with the pseudonym Richard Sympson and copied out in the hand of John Gay (Rivero, 2002, p.263). Four months later, on 16 November, Pope wrote to Swift that apart from "the mob of Criticks" he found "no considerable man very angry at the book [...] so that you needed not to have been so secret upon this head" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.181). It is thought that the copy received by Motte was a transcript in a hand different from Swift's (Williams, 1952, p.11 and 1965b, p.xxii; Jenkins, 1968, p.1; Treadwell, 1995, p.63-64).

Motte agreed to publish the work without any reservation and with the only condition that the payment was spread over a longer period (see *Corr.*, vol.III, p.154). Thanks to the laborious studies carried out by John C. Ross (1996) and Michael Treadwell (1998), we now have evidence that Motte delegated the printing of the book to five different houses owned respectively by Say, Woodfall, Bettenham, Pearson and Ilive. On Friday 28 October 1726 *The Daily Courant* and *The Daily Journal* announced that the book was available for sale in two volumes. When some days later a copy of the volumes reached Swift in Ireland, he expressed indignation at the liberties which had supposedly been taken with his text and blamed Motte and his associated partner Andrew Tooke (see *Corr.*, vol.IV, p.211) for these violations. Swift's disappointment with Motte's edition was first manifested in a letter to Pope dated 26 November 1726. Swift reported to his friend that he had found in the second volume "several passages which appeared patched and altered, and the style of a different sort" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.189). He closed the letter by remarking that "[...] if I were Gulliver's friend, I would desire all my acquaintance to give out that his copy was basely mangled, and abused, and added to, and blotted out by the printer" (p.190). In order to know what precisely caused Swift's dissatisfaction, we have to turn our attention to a letter to Motte written by Charles Ford on 3 January 1727. Supposedly acting under Swift's supervision, Ford warned Motte that his text contained "many gross Errors of the Press" and attached to the letter a list of correct readings with the hope that they would be inserted in a possible new edition (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.194). Ford's corrections, listed in the postscript to the letter, are generally referred to as 'Ford's List' or 'Paper' (Jenkins, 1968, p.3). The majority of the changes, 98 out of 115, involve single words and consist of minor grammatical improvements and of corrections of typographical errors (see Hubbard,

1922; Williams, 1925 and 1952; Case, 1958; Jenkins, 1968; Lock, 1981)<sup>17</sup>. In the remaining 17 instances Ford introduces more lengthy comments and identifies nine corrupted passages which are said to be incompatible with the author's intention, spirit and style. No alternative readings are provided which allow for a comparison with what Swift claimed to have originally written. The most explicit objections are made with regard to the panegyric on Queen Anne (Swift, 1726, Part IV, Chapter VI, pp.90-92). Rather than being confined exclusively to the Paper, these are given prominence in the body of the letter. Here, Ford declares the passage "plainly false" and specifically requests that it be left out of the new edition. The section of the paragraph in which the Queen is said to have governed the country exemplarily, without the need of "a corrupt Ministry to carry on or cover any sinister Design" (Swift, 1726, Part IV, Chapter VI, p.90) seems to have constituted Swift's main cause of concern.

Provided that the manipulations of which Motte was accused were true, it can be affirmed that when *Gulliver's Travels* debuted on the literary scene, it was already a refraction of a hypothetical pre-existing text (see Chapter One, section 1.1). Swift clearly believed, or at least he claimed to believe, that this was the case. He reported Motte's edition as a counterfeit and was anxious to have *Gulliver's Travels* published in its alleged 'original' state. In order for this to become possible, Motte had to be persuaded to issue a restored or a revised edition. To Swift's disappointment, however, the request for amendment contained in Ford's letter was only partially satisfied. Admittedly, all but three of the specific minor corrections were included in Motte's "Second Edition Corrected", issued on 4 May 1727<sup>18</sup>. Along with these changes, the new edition contained many thousands of "differences in spelling, capitalisation and punctuation" (Lock, 1981, p.518). Ford's comments on the nine corrupted passages were rejected and ignored. Lucius Hubbard (1922, p.53), Harold Williams (1952, p.26) and Lock (1980, p.77) point out that in the Paper, now preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Ford's remarks appear underscored or struck through. It is believed that the pen strokes were drawn, if not by Motte himself, by someone employed in his or in either one of the two other publishing houses involved in the printing of the 1727 octavo - Bowyer's and Palmer's (see Treadwell, 1998, p.165).

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<sup>17</sup> Clauston Jenkins (1968) identifies "fourteen changes in verb tense or number; twelve changes in the number of nouns; twelve changes involving articles; twelve changes involving demonstrative or relative pronouns and minor adjectives and adverbs; eight changes of other pronouns; eight changes of conjunctions; eight changes of prepositions [...]" (p.8)

<sup>18</sup> If we consider that two reprints of the first edition were published in 1726, the 1727 is in actual fact the fourth edition.

Motte's refusal to restore the passages which Ford had identified as corrupt initiated a new phase of the textual evolution of Swift's work aimed at the "wholesale restoration of the text" (Treadwell, 1995, p.70). Once again, Ford's involvement and contribution turned out to be fundamental. This time, his name is associated with an annotated copy of Motte's first edition also preserved in the Forster Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The copy, now known as 'Book' or 'Forster Copy' (Lock, 1981) contains corrections of two kinds. In the margins of the text Ford wrote all but three of the 115 correct minor readings contained in the Paper (see Case, 1958 p.7; Williams, 1952, p.23; Jenkins, 1968, p.3). Each emendation is written next to the line containing the error to which it refers. In addition, Ford's copy contains the correct versions of the passages which in the Paper were merely identified as corrupt. The extended corrections are written out in full on blank sheets inserted in Part III and Part IV. While most of the corrections in the Paper consist of stylistic improvements which could be made by any attentive editor, in the Book, an authorial intention to modify meanings and to sharpen the satire is clearly perceivable (see Jenkins, 1968, p.12). Three passages, of which no mention is made in the Paper, are often used to illustrate how the satire becomes more acute and specific. The first concerns the Lilliputian silken threads (Part I, Chapter III), the second the description of the English methods of discovering plots (Part III, Chapter VI), the third the rebellion of Lindalino, one of Ford's most extensive additions (see in particular Jenkins, 1968, pp.16-20; Lock, 1980, pp.79-85). In Motte's 1726 and 1727 editions we read that the threads which the Lilliputians award to their most dexterous politicians are purple, yellow and white. By changing the colours to blue, red and green, Ford made the allegorical reference to the Orders of the Garter, the Bath and the Thistle more explicit. In the second case Ford specifies through the insertion of the anagram *Langden* (see Lock, 1980, p.82) that the country to which Gulliver is referring is England. Finally, the addition of the episode of Lindalino exposes to satire a new element, namely the Irish protest against William Wood's coinage system in 1725.

The Forster copy does not constitute Ford's only attempt to recreate a text of *Gulliver's Travels* with which Swift would be content. The 'Morgan copy' (Lock, 1981), now held in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, also contains annotations in his holograph. Although in many cases the corrections correspond, the Forster copy is

more complete<sup>19</sup>. For this reason it has gained a prestigious position in the textual history of *Gulliver's Travels*.

Ford's letter and the Forster copy have been the object of many studies since the 1920s, when a scholarly interest started to develop in *Gulliver's Travels'* complicated textual history. Since then, discussions have been ongoing to establish the extent to which Motte altered the manuscript, whether Ford's corrections go beyond mere restoration and what weight these should be given when producing new editions of Swift's work. For many scholars and critics the fact that Motte took liberties with Swift's manuscript is unquestioned. Hubbard (1922), the first to conduct an in-depth study of the text of *Gulliver's Travels*, speaks of suppressed and altered passages (p.xiii), Williams of "extensive departures" (1926, p.vi) and Arthur E. Case of "intentional" and "important changes" (1958, p.5). While Hubbard, Case and Williams hold Swift's accusations credible exclusively on the basis of his and Ford's claims, Treadwell (1985) finds evidence of their veracity in Motte's habits and activities as a publisher. Treadwell explains that when Motte took over Benjamin Tooke's publishing house in 1725, Reverend Andrew Tooke, Benjamin's eldest surviving brother, "held a major if not a controlling interest in the bookselling and publishing business [...]" (1985, p.292). Tooke was an experienced editor with strong tendencies to revision and adaptation (Treadwell, 1985, p.290), hence "a specialist in the kind of copy editing Swift accuses him of" (Treadwell, 1985, p.288). At least two reasons can be put forward as to why Motte requested Tooke's collaboration in the editing of *Gulliver's Travels*. Firstly, at the time when he received Swift's manuscript, Motte had only recently started his publishing business and was "both twenty years younger and twenty years less experienced than his associate" (Treadwell, 1985, p.288). Secondly, Motte was more specifically interested in scholarly and scientific topics and hardly ventured into publishing political works, let alone satires (Treadwell, 1985, p.293). We may be wondering, at this point, why Motte did not reject a work which was not only "well outside his normal range" (Treadwell, 1985, p.294), but also potentially dangerous. Treadwell advances a convincing explanation by hazarding that Swift initially sent Motte only part of the manuscript (see *Corr.*, vol.III, p.153) and that he strategically arranged and tamed the negotiations to ensure that the publisher "did not see those parts of the work about which he might have questions, until after his consent to publish had

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<sup>19</sup> Lock (1981) reports that the Foster copy and the Morgan copy contain amendments to respectively 137 and 108 passages. As regards the corrections required by the Paper, 105 are inserted in the Forster copy and 85 in the Morgan copy (p.519-20).

been obtained [...]” (Treadwell, 1985, p.297). Treadwell is confident that the part sent to Motte consisted of the first two voyages and that Swift was determined to keep Part III and Part IV out of the sight of the publisher for fear that the aggressive satire they contained might have discouraged him from proceeding with the deal. Having contracted to publish the two volumes together before seeing the manuscript in its entirety (see *Corr.*, vol.III, p.154-155; Treadwell, 1985, p.297) Motte seems to have been left with no other option than to soften the satirical attacks which could have exposed him to the risk of prosecution (Treadwell, 1985, p.295; Case 1958 p.5). It is for this purpose that he is thought to have introduced the supposed changes so hardly criticised by Swift and Ford.

The fact that Swift’s accusations have generally been given credibility does not imply that they have also been taken to the letter. There is the suspicion, even among those who are convinced that Motte’s text is corrupt, that Swift might have taken advantage of his complaints to introduce revisions and changes rather than just mere corrections (see Williams, 1926, p.xxxii; Treadwell, 1995, p.74). Besides admitting that the substitutions in Ford’s copy appear to go “beyond the rectification of the passages omitted or altered by Motte” (1952 p.34; also in Lock, 1981, p.78), Williams observes that these are, in some instances, “needless, debatable, or for the worse” (1952, p.51; also in Lock, 1981, p.76). Jenkins (1968) adds that “Swift often pretended others had mangled his work when he alone was responsible for its corrections” and suggests that “perhaps all the blame need not to fall on the printer” (p.7). This point is further stressed by Lock (1980, 1981), who perceives the complaints against Motte’s text as a “clandestine comedy” devised by Swift partly to preserve his anonymity and “partly for his love for a good joke” (1980, p.70). On this premise, Lock builds a theory which promotes Motte’s 1726 edition as an authentic and “faithful representation of what Swift wrote” (1980, p.68), thus challenging the dominant view shared by Hubbard, Williams, Case and Treadwell. According to Lock, Swift’s complaints originated from his dissatisfaction with what *he* had written and that these were a mere expedient to edit the work with his afterthoughts (1980, p.78).

Swift was notoriously unreliable “on the subject of the publication of his works and his responsibility for them” (Lock, 1980, p.67). This constitutes for Lock a first valid reason to be cautious about the integrity of his claims. Furthermore, the examination of Swift’s correspondence in the period following publication leaves no doubt that Swift was still on good terms with Motte. On 16 December 1727 Motte wrote to Swift to inform him about his plan to publish an illustrated edition of *Gulliver’s Travels* and to

ask his opinion on which passages he would like to see illustrated. Swift's reply followed on 28 December (see *Corr.*, vol.III, p.257). Lock draws the attention to a letter dated 15 July 1732 in which Swift states that he had always found Motte's dealing "honest and fair" (1980, p.78, see also *Corr.*, vol.IV, p.41-42). There is also the evidence that Swift continued to use Motte not only as a publisher but also as an agent for other dealings (Lock, 1980, p.77; see also *Corr.*, vol.III, p.263). It is unlikely, as Lock observes, that Swift would have continued to trust Motte if he truly thought he had mangled his manuscript. As regards the passages commented on by Ford, Lock points out that Motte did not correct them "because they were not in fact 'corrupt'" (p.78). Ford had complained that Motte's alterations had toned down the sting of the satire and that they did not comply with the style of the author. This, however, does not apply to the paragraph on Queen Anne which is included in Motte's text despite being clearly more explicit and "outspokenly antigovernment" (Lock, 1981, p.516) than the passages which the publisher was accused of having "blotted out" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.189). It seems very unlikely, as well as contradictory, that Motte would have omitted decidedly less dangerous passages to have such a highly provocative passage especially composed for his edition. Lock is confident that the panegyric was contained in the original manuscript. He conjectures that after publication Swift became unsatisfied with the passage and, having realised that this "could not be improved by mere rewriting", he decided to omit it altogether (1980, p.85). Many of the changes introduced in Ford's interleaved copy are, according to Lock, revisions and later additions which reflect Swift's growing disappointment with the English contemporary political scene. Swift began to work on *Gulliver's Travels* about the end of 1720 or the beginning of 1721 (Williams, 1952, p.4). By the time Ford sent Motte his corrections, many changes had occurred in English political life which had increased Swift's hostility towards Walpole's administration (Lock, 1980, p.80; Williams, 1965b, p.xix).

Lock's theory is plausible but leaves many questions unsolved. If some of the passages written out in Ford's interleaved copy are revisions and later additions, why did Ford not attach them to his letter to Motte? How was Motte supposed to insert the 'new' passages without any version to which to refer? Lock dismisses these problems by suggesting that at the time when Ford wrote to Motte, composition of the passages was still in progress. It seems to me that the dominant theory defended by Hubbard, Williams, Case and Treadwell provides, at least in this regard, more plausible and sound explanations. According to Case (1958, p.6) and Williams (1952, p.12), Ford did not provide any reading because he assumed that undoubtedly Motte was still in possession

of the manuscript and that, therefore, he could have restored the ‘corrupt’ passages by directly referring to it. The reason why Motte did not include the passages in the 1727 edition might be that by the time he received the letter, the manuscript had already been destroyed (see Treadwell, 1995, p.64; Williams, 1952, p.11; Case, 1958, p.7). As Treadwell explains, this was the standard procedure adopted by publishers at Swift’s time when dealing with potentially dangerous texts like *Gulliver’s Travels* (1985, p.301).

The arguments advanced by Hubbard, Williams, Case and Treadwell on one side, and by Lock on the other, make it impossible to ascertain in what relation Motte’s 1726 edition stands to Swift’s original work. The popular theory that the manuscript was actually manipulated encourages the perception of Motte’s edition as a derivative creation. On the other hand, Lock’s dismissal of Swift’s complaints as a farce invites us to be cautious in our judgments. The lack of further evidence to support one or the other position inspired scholars to shift their attention to a different set of questions. Significant efforts have been made to reconstruct the process of textual revision which culminated in the publication of Faulkner’s 1735 edition. These brought to light an alternative tradition of corrections and spurred a lively debate about Swift’s role in their production.

### **2.2.2 The ‘non-Ford’ corrections and the composition of Faulkner’s text**

So far my discussion of the early textual evolution of *Gulliver’s Travels* has been restricted to four sources linked to Ford

- the letter listing all the ‘faults’ of the first edition
- Motte’s 1727 edition containing Ford’s minor corrections
- the extensively annotated ‘Forster copy’
- the ‘Morgan copy’

A parallel and independent tradition of corrections also emerged across three other documents, namely

- John Hyde’s 1726 edition
- the ‘Taylor copy’
- the ‘Armagh copy’

Hyde’s edition was published in Dublin in early December 1726 (Teerink & Scouten, 1964, p.205). It is presented as a corrected version exempt from the “several errors” of the “London Edition”. There is a general consensus that Hyde prepared his edition using a list of corrections provided by Swift and that this list was different from

the one sent to Motte. The corrections, which amount to about 40 (Lock, 1981, p.514), involve only minor changes. Lack of reference to any of the longer passages mentioned by Ford constitutes for Lock further evidence that these are more likely to be afterthoughts than restorations of the original manuscript (1981, p.525).

The ‘Taylor copy’ and the ‘Armagh copy’ are two manually annotated copies of Motte’s first edition. Preserved in the Robert H. Taylor Collection, Princeton, New Jersey, the Taylor copy is composed only of the third and fourth voyage. Like Ford’s copies, it contains both minor and major emendations. The former are annotated in the margins, the latter are written out in blank leaves bound up in the volume. Lock reports that although it does not derive directly from a Ford source, the Taylor copy is closely related to Ford’s corrections (1981, p.520). Of the 90 passages corrected in the Taylor copy, 65 are amended in the Ford letter and 16 in one or both of the Ford copies. The remaining 9 passages, which do not recur in any of the Ford documents, connect the Taylor copy with Hyde’s edition and the Armagh copy (Lock, 1981, p.520).

The ‘Armagh copy’, now held in the Armagh Public Library, Northern Ireland, differs considerably from any other of the annotated documents. The corrections provided by Ford and by the unknown annotator of the Taylor copy are “unambiguous, self-explanatory, neatly and carefully written” (Lock, 1981, p.520); those in the Armagh copy are chaotic and enigmatic. The majority of the corrections, 46 out of 75, consist of markings traced in proximity of the passage to which they refer (Lock, 1981, p.521; Woolley, 1978, p.134). The markings are of different kinds and include “strokes, saltire crosses, carets, obliterations, and deletion symbols” (Woolley, 1978, p.135). The remaining 29 corrections include 22 annotations of one or two words and seven individual letters of the alphabet (Woolley, 1978, p.134). What is most peculiar in the Armagh copy is that “all the markings and all but nine of the corrections” (Lock, 1981, p.521) are in pencil and that a difference in style is perceptible between the words and the letters written in pencil and those in ink (Lock, 1981, p.522; Woolley, 1978, p.135). According to Lock, the presence of different sets of corrections indicates that the Armagh copy was double marked. He attributes the corrections in ink, which consists exclusively of neatly written words and letters, to a professional copyist and those in pencil to an author marking passages “as unsatisfactory or as needing of attention” (Lock, 1981, p.522). This view is only partially shared by David Woolley who argues with conviction that all the corrections of the Armagh copy, markings included, are to



be ascribed to Swift<sup>20</sup>. Despite their divergences, Lock and Woolley share the belief that Swift was directly involved in the annotation of the Armagh copy. The analysis of Swift's handwriting seems to leave no doubt that the pencilled corrections are his.

The disagreement between Lock and Woolley escalated when it came to establishing the dating of the annotations. In his study, Woolley claims that Swift began to annotate his copy at a very early stage and in connection with the preparation of Hyde's edition<sup>21</sup>. Lock rejects Woolley's conclusion and argues that the corrections are more likely to have been made at a later stage, namely during the preparation of George Faulkner's collection of Swift's works. The collection, which was composed of four volumes, was published in 1735 and sold both in an octavo and in a duodecimo edition<sup>22</sup>. Swift's attitude towards Faulkner's plan to issue a collection of his works was extremely ambiguous. At first he showed opposition and indifference<sup>23</sup>. Then he changed his mind, presumably realising that collaboration with Faulkner would have given him the opportunity to insert in the new edition of *Gulliver's Travels* the changes Motte persisted in rejecting (see Hubbard, 1922, p.51; Case, 1958, p.10). Lock believes that it is exactly at this stage that the annotations of the Armagh copy were made. He maintains that, determined to provide Faulkner with a suitable copy-text, Swift started to correct his own working copy trying to remember which passages he and Ford had previously identified as corrupt. However, "knowing that it would be easier to work from a properly-annotated copy" (1981, p.524) he resolved to turn to his friend. It is likely that the aggravation of the symptoms of Ménière's disease, from which Swift had

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<sup>20</sup> Woolley thinks that the process of correction took place in more than one session (1978, p.134) and that the stylistic difference is to be attributed to gradual modification of Swift's handwriting over time (1978, p.154).

<sup>21</sup> This belief stemmed from the realisation that 23 of the Armagh corrections were incorporated in Hyde's text and that six of these never reappeared in any other copy or edition (Woolley, 1978, p.144; also in Lock, 1981, p.523).

<sup>22</sup> Lock reports that "Of the seventy-five passages marked or corrected in Armagh, twenty-two are places in which Hyde's text differs from Motte's; but no fewer than fifty are passages revised in Faulkner. Of the twenty-two passages that Armagh has in common with Hyde, nineteen are also revised in Faulkner; there are only five passages marked in Armagh that can be connected with Hyde but not with Faulkner. The connexion between Armagh and Faulkner is much stronger than between Armagh and Hyde [...]" (1981, p.523).

<sup>23</sup> On different occasions Swift expressed his opposition by declaring that it was "utterly done against my will" (*Corr*, IV, p.304), "a great mortification" (*Corr*, IV, p.338), a "work which very much discontents me" (*Corr*, IV, p.222), and "an evil that I could not avoyd" (*Corr*, IV, p.197). This last statement clearly alludes to the lack of "Property of Copies" in Ireland, which gave Irish publishers the freedom to "print what they please" (*ibid.*). On 1 May 1733 Swift reported to Pope that Faulkner was determined to proceed with publication even without his permission (*Corr*, IV, p.154). The fact that the first collection of his work was being published in Ireland and not in England constituted for Swift another major cause of distress (*Corr*, IV, pp.154, 338, 414). Opposition often gave way to indifference. In the letter to Motte of 9 December 1732 Swift admitted that he "will neither encourage nor oppose" (*Corr*, IV, p.89) Faulkner's enterprise. Moreover, on writing to the Earl of Oxford on 16 February 1734 Swift addressed Faulkner as "the Prince of Dublin printers" and said that he would rather have the work "fall into his hands, than any others on this side" (*Corr*, IV, p.222).

for long suffered, discouraged him from continuing with the correction of the Armagh copy and led him to seek for assistance (Lock, 1981, p.519). On 9 October 1733, he requested Ford to help him retrieve the interleaved copy which he had “set right in those mangled and murdered Pages” (*Corr.*, vol.IV, p.198).

Swift repeatedly denied any direct involvement in the preparation of Faulkner’s edition, claiming that it was some friends of his who assisted the publisher and provided him with their copies and their corrections (see *Corr.*, vol.IV, pp.169, 248, 338). However, external and internal evidence show that these declarations are not entirely true. On replying to Swift’s letter of 9 October 1733, Ford explained that the “perpetual references backwards and forwards” contained in his copy made the corrections “difficult to be understood” (*Corr.*, IV, p.202). Evidently discouraged by Ford’s words, Swift wrote back that “all I can do is to strike out the Trash in the Edition to be printed here, since you can not help me” (*Corr.*, vol.IV, p.211). In another letter Swift declared to have looked on Faulkner’s volumes very little (*Corr.*, IV, p.338). Lord Orrery’s *Remarks on the Life and Writing of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (1752) provides the earliest explicit testimony of Swift’s active role in the preparation of the 1735 edition. Lord Orrery states with no hesitation that Faulkner printed his edition “by consent and approbation of the author himself”. He then takes his statement a step further by adding that “[T]he first four volumes were published by subscription, and every sheet of them was brought to the Dean for his revisal and correction” and that “[The] two next were published in the same manner” (1752, p.81; also in Hubbard, 1922, p.55). These words were echoed by Faulkner in a declaration made in the *Dublin Journal* in 1744 (Williams, 1965b, p.xxvii). After Swift died in 1745 Faulkner’s claims of this alleged collaboration became more and more persistent<sup>24</sup>.

The analysis of Faulkner’s text of *Gulliver’s Travels* makes the hypothesis of Swift’s supervision more plausible (see Lock, 1980, p.72). This differs from Motte’s 1726 first edition for “some five hundred verbal or minor variants [...] and major alterations, including several lengthy passages” (Williams, 1952, p.33; see also Lock, 1981, p.514). Many emendations, about 100 according to Williams (1952, p.52), coincide with those in Ford’s interleaved copy; some others match those in Hyde’s

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<sup>24</sup> In the preface to his 1772 final edition Faulkner lists the condition under which Swift agreed to make his contribution. He had allegedly demanded that “no Jobb should be made, but full Value given for the Money; That the Editor should attend him early every Morning, or when most convenient, to read to him, that the Sounds might strike the ear, as well as the Sense the Understanding, and had always two Men Servants present for this Purpose; and when he had any Doubt, he would ask them the Meaning of what they heard; which if they did not comprehend, he would alter and amend until they understood it perfectly well, and then would say, *this will do; for I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned*” (p.8).

Dublin edition and in the Taylor and the Armagh copy (Lock, 1981, pp.527-533). The majority of the variants are Faulkner's. These consist of changes in meaning, differences in grammar and idiom and purely stylistic variations (Case, 1958, pp.21-48; Williams, 1952, p.59). Many of these changes, especially those affecting the meaning, are confidently attributed to Swift (see Williams, 1952, p.51-58).

Due to its large number of corrections and revisions, Faulkner's 1735 text is substantially different from that of Motte's princeps edition. On the one hand, the satire becomes more specific and more aggressive; on the other hand stylistic and grammatical improvements enhance the quality of the work.

Besides presenting micro-textual differences, Motte's and Faulkner's edition diverge significantly at the paratextual level. Both Motte and Faulkner included a portrait of Gulliver as frontispiece of their editions. The portrait in Motte's edition presents Gulliver "in the velvet-cloaked guise of a distinguished statesman or scholar" (Barchas, 1998, p.265). Under the portrait, the Latin abbreviated inscription "Ætat. suae 58", indicates Gulliver's age. According to Janine Barchas the posture in which Gulliver is depicted, his look and the specification of his age promote his "stature and authority as author", thus enhancing Swift's "multileveled ironic game" (1998, p.267)<sup>25</sup>. Faulkner's octavo and duodecimo collections of Swift's works contain two portraits which differ from each other as well as from that published by Motte. While in the octavo portrait Gulliver is presented as a confident, "youthful, energetic Everyman", in the duodecimo he looks like "an untidy Yahoo who has just emerged from a sleepless night in the stables of the Houyhnhnms" (Barchas, 1998, p.267). Under both portraits is an inscription which reads "Splendide Mendax" ('glittering liar'), a quotation from Horace. Unlike the readers of Motte's edition, Faulkner's audience is warned to beware of Gulliver's words. If the inclusion of *Gulliver's Travels* in a collection of Swift's works had already exposed Gulliver's account as a fictional narrative, the inscription reasserts this status.

The second paratextual difference which distinguishes Faulkner's from Motte's edition is determined by the addition of two prefatory elements - the "Advertisement" and "A Letter from Capt. Gulliver, to his Cousin Sympson". The advertisement introduces the letter in which Gulliver accuses Sympson and the publisher of the

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<sup>25</sup> Barchas finds the portrait unreliable and fraudulent for two reasons. First of all it clashes with the representation of the "impecunious and frustrated" Gulliver provided at the end of the fourth voyage (1998, p.265). Secondly, according to the biographical details contained at the beginning of the first voyage, Gulliver is sixty-five and not fifty-eight at the time of the publication of his account. Barchas concludes that fifty-eight is actually a reference to Swift's and not Gulliver's age.

London edition of having manipulated his account without any authorisation. Gulliver's allegations are obviously an allusion to Swift's dissatisfaction with Motte's 1726 edition.

The dissimilarities between Motte's 1726 and Faulkner's 1735 editions implied the coexistence of two distinct substantive texts of *Gulliver's Travels*. The fact that neither of these has been recognised by Swift as authoritative led to a controversy about which text should be regarded as 'standard', thus confronting successive editors and publishers with the need to adopt a critical stance and to justify their editorial decisions.

### **2.2.3 The publication of the 1735 text and its implications**

The publication of Faulkner's *Gulliver's Travels* provoked what Case defines as a "publishers' war" (1958, p.17). The protagonists of the dispute were Faulkner on one side, and Motte and John Hawkesworth on the other.

It is a well known fact that Motte "was very uneasy with the Irish edition" (*Corr.*, vol.IV, p.211) and that he did everything in his power to prevent Faulkner's text from being sold in England. In 1736 he also "filed a bill of Chancery" (see footnote *Corr.*, vol.IV, p.493; see also Hubbard, 1922, p.49) which urged Faulkner to seek Swift's support and protection. In 1754-55 Charles Bathurst, Motte's partner and successor, published a new collection of Swift's works edited by Hawkesworth. In the preface to the first volume, Hawkesworth declares the 1735 text to be faulty and accuses Faulkner of having altered the text "under colour of correction" (1755 p.7; see also Hubbard, 1922, p.54 and Danchin, 1960, p.235). It is to respond to these charges that Faulkner began to lay in his re-editions increasingly stronger claims on Swift's collaboration. Interestingly, despite his bitter criticism, Hawkesworth silently adopted many of the changes introduced by Faulkner (Hubbard, 1922, p.55; Danchin, 1960, p.243). This suggests that Hawkesworth considered Faulkner's text to be, at least to some extent, more dependable than both Motte's 1726 and 1727 editions and that his attacks might have originated from the need to protect the interests of his employer Bathurst. Hawkesworth's behaviour is indicative of the disorientation which the editors and publishers of *Gulliver's Travels* have experienced since the release of Faulkner's edition.

The question of what value should be attributed to respectively Motte's 1726 and Faulkner's 1735 edition has been a very popular subject of discussion. Hubbard (1922, p.62) and Williams (1952, p.32) argue that Faulkner's text should be given literary prominence on the basis that it contains authorial revisions and it substantially

represents Swift's finished and polished work. This claim is strongly refuted by Case and Lock. Case defines Faulkner's text as a "composite and relatively untrustworthy piece of editing" (1958, p.49) due to the impossibility of determining with certainty the source of the revisions which it contains. He believes that precedence in literature should be given to the manuscript or, since this no longer exists, to an archetypal text which comes "as close as is humanly possible to the book as its author intended it to be" (ibid.). Case identifies this text with that of Motte's 1726 edition supplemented by Ford's corrections and restitutions. Convinced that the text published by Motte is a faithful representation of the manuscript (see section 2.2.1), Lock (1980) indicates it as the most appropriate basis for a text of *Gulliver's Travels*. He then adds that "[a]lthough there is no reason to exclude from the text Swift's stylistic improvements, afterthoughts such as the Lindalino rebellion and the blue, red and green threads" should be confined to footnotes and appendices (1980, pp.87-88). In this way, Lock concludes, "readers will be much less likely to be misled into allegorizing and misinterpretation" (1980, p.88).

After having indicated what text, in his opinion, is the most suited for inclusion in new editions of Swift's work, Lock takes the debate to a new level by pointing out that there is no such thing as one definitive version of *Gulliver's Travels*. We have no alternative, he suggests, than to accept that we are in the presence of a multiplicity of substantive versions and that each of these fits a specific editorial purpose and represents Swift's work in one particular moment of its early textual history. He elaborates his view in three postulates.

1. An editor who wishes to preserve as much as possible of what Swift wrote (including his own practice in the matters of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation) ought certainly to base his text on Motte as the closest to Swift's lost manuscript. This text certainly needs correction.
2. An editor who wished to present Swift's final version of the book would admit into his text all the readings of the Faulkner edition that can reasonably be attributed to Swift, as well as the readings from the annotated copies that seem to have been overlooked rather than rejected. Such a text would be the best possible substitute for the authoritatively-revised text that Swift himself failed to provide, at the same time preserving as much as possible of the texture of his accidentals.
3. An editor who feels [...] that what Swift wrote in 1726 is a more important document than his partially-revised text of 1735 would admit into his text only the later amendments than can reasonably be regarded as corrections rather than revisions. This would give us the closest possible approximation to the text as it would have been published in 1726 if Swift had given careful attention to its

printing and proofing.  
(1981, p.526)

Recently, criticism has become less preoccupied with establishing a definitive ‘standard’ text of *Gulliver’s Travels* and a more open attitude has emerged. Robert De Maria, the editor of the 2001 and 2003 Penguin editions of Swift’s work, points out that “we are in a period of editorial thinking that is more pluralistic and allows for the interest and viability of various editions, being less concerned with a standard, authoritative text” (2003, p.xxviii). Editors inevitably continue to face the decision of whether to reproduce Motte’s or Faulkner’s text. However, the prefaces of their editions generally make readers aware of *Gulliver’s Travels*’ complex textual problems and warn them that what they are experiencing is only one among a range of possible standard versions.

Publishers and editors are not the only agents who have had to reckon with the textual instability of *Gulliver’s Travels*. Adaptors, abridgers, illustrators, and in particular translators, who produce variations of a literary work using its standard text as a term of comparison, have also had to accept and adjust to the idea that Swift’s work lacks a stable ‘original’. The fact that, as we will see in Chapters Three and Four, reworkings draw on a variety of textual bases is indicative of this acceptance.

The absence of an ‘original’ version of *Gulliver’s Travels* implicitly suggests that reworkings played a significant role since the very beginning of the work’s textual and publication history. In fact, we have reason to suppose that the text of *Gulliver’s Travels* began to transform even before the publication of the first edition of October 1726. The allegations that Motte weakened the satirical force of Swift’s manuscript make it plausible to assume that the text he published was a derivation in the first instance. The changes instigated by Swift’s dissatisfaction with Motte’s edition and eventually incorporated in Faulkner’s 1735 text continued and extended the process of reworking. These changes, as we have seen, consisted of minor stylistic improvements as well as of the restoration of the passages which Motte was accused of having manipulated. As a result of these interventions the text of *Gulliver’s Travels* regained its alleged ‘original’ satirical significance, or, as we might also put it, it became closer to the work as Swift intended it to be in 1735. What is interesting about this is not, of course, whether the text corresponds closely to Swift’s intention, or whether it approaches ‘definitive’ status, but that the text is always already in a process of transformation.

As more re-editions were produced to approach the ideal of an authoritative standard text, other refractions gradually moved away from this paradigm of 'standard-ness' to extend the accessibility of the work to new audiences. In the next chapters we will explore how translations, abridgements, adaptations and illustrated editions enhanced and intensified the reworking of the text of *Gulliver's Travels* by collaboratively carrying it across languages, genres, forms and media.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### ***Gulliver's Travels in Italy, 1729-1890***

#### **3.1 The Italian debut of *Gulliver's Travels***

The portion of the publication and reception history of *Gulliver's Travels* analysed in this chapter illustrates to what extent refractions are responsible for the introduction and the settlement of the work in the Italian literary polysystem.

The trajectory of *Gulliver's Travels* in the Italian context began with a translation. Italy was the fourth European country after Holland, France and Germany to produce a translation of Swift's work. The earliest translations into Dutch and into French were published in Holland in January 1727<sup>26</sup>. The Dutch version is attributed to C. Van Blankesteyn (Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.222). The French rendition, known as 'the Hague translation', is anonymous<sup>27</sup>. A second French translation, carried out by the Abbé Desfontaines, appeared in Paris in April 1727 (Goulding, 1924, p.60). Two German versions, the first anonymous and the second by Johann Heinrich Liebers, were published respectively in 1727 and in 1728 (Krake, Real, Spiekermann, 2005, p.98). In 1729 the first Italian version was published in Venice under the title *Viaggj del Capitano Lemuel Gulliver in diversi Paesi lontani*<sup>28</sup>.

The appearance of *Gulliver's Travels* on the Italian literary scene is to be seen as part of Italy's slow process of cultural renovation which begun at the end of "two centuries of creeping fossilisation" (Duggan, 1994, p.76) under Spanish rule and which continued through the eighteenth century. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) which followed the death of Charles II of Spain brought dramatic changes to Italy's political map, with Austria becoming "the dominant power of the peninsula" (Duggan, 1994, p.76) through the acquisition of Lombardy, the Duchy of Mantua,

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<sup>26</sup> The fact that the French translation was published in Holland is not accidental. In the first half of the eighteenth century printers in The Hague and in Amsterdam provided many books for both the French and the British market (see Hermans, 2009, p.395; Kloek and Mijnhart, 2004, p.74)

<sup>27</sup> The Dutch and the French translations of January 1727 are the first illustrated editions of *Gulliver's Travels* (Teerink & Scouten, 1964, p.223; Halsband, 1985, p.85).

<sup>28</sup> In the first half of the eighteenth century access to *Gulliver's Travels* remained confined to Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Italy and Sweden, where the first translation appeared in 1744. During the second half of the century translations appeared in Russia (1772), Poland (1784) and Portugal and Spain (1793). All the eighteenth-century translations were based on French sources. The earliest German and Italian translations were based on the Hague version; the translations published in the second half of the eighteenth century on Desfontaines' rendering. This change is symptomatic of how the success of Desfontaines' version gradually obscured the Hague translation (see section 3.2).



Tuscany, the entire mainland South, and Sicily (Duggan, 1994, p.76; Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.343). As a result of the new setup, Italy became exposed to the regimes of Northern Europe, whose cultural, literary, social and political life was flourishing under the influence of gradually developing enlightened principles. The confrontation with these realities stimulated a lively cultural debate concerning the pressing need for renovation. Many distinguished intellectuals including Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750), Scipione Maffei (1675-1755), Pietro Giannone (1676-1748), and Antonio Genovesi (1713-1769) encouraged a new openness towards the leading European cultural models. They were enthusiastic supporters of the philosophical, scientific and literary revolutionary ideals promoted by French and English thinkers and were optimistic that, once absorbed into the Italian cultural tissue, these would create the ideal conditions for progress to flourish (Graf, 1911, p.xxiv; Duggan, 1994, p.80; Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.346). As a result of this renewed openness, Italy fell under the influence of France's cultural hegemony. An increasing fascination with French literature, language and customs gradually evolved into the phenomenon known as 'Gallomania', which reached its peak towards the middle of the eighteenth century (see for example Graf, 1911, pp.14-17). The effects of this infatuation on Italian cultural life soon became tangible.

Italy grew increasingly receptive to the revolutionary ideas at the heart of the European cultural debate. The teachings of Locke, David Hume, Isaac Newton, Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire and Denis Diderot were particularly well received in Milan, Tuscany, Naples, Sicily and in the Duchy of Parma (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.333), where they generated growing faith in reason and in human capacity. Scholars and men of letters actively engaged in the programme of social reformation. Literature began to be perceived as a potentially powerful means of communication and a tool to generate debate out of which reform could emerge (Duggan, 1994, p.80). In 1706 Muratori claimed that poetry should be both useful and pleasurable (in Graf, 1911, p.xxxi). His belief was echoed, around the middle of the century, by Genovesi, Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764) and Giuseppe Baretti (1719-1789) (Graf, 1911, pp.xxxi-xxxii). Soon French came to be used alongside Latin and Italian by all influential men of letters<sup>29</sup>.

The importation and the imitation of foreign literature were not the only measures taken to encourage the reinvigoration of Italy's cultural life. It was felt that the emergence of a sense of common cultural identity and historical heritage was an essential prerequisite for the achievement of this goal (see Algarotti, in Graf, 1911,

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<sup>29</sup> It should be emphasised that Italian existed almost exclusively as a written language for the learned and that the majority of the population communicated using dialects.

p.xxii). We should not forget that Italy was fragmented into many small and independent states and that these were separated not only politically and territorially, but also culturally. A possible solution to reduce cultural diversity was found in the revaluation of the Italian literary tradition and of the Latin and the Greek classics on which this was founded. This perspective gained increasing support as the cultural influence of France became more and more prominent and started to be perceived as a threat to the emergence of a collective sense of Italianness (see Graf, 1911, p.xviii; Hainsworth and Robey, 2002, p.246).

The negotiation of a balance between modernity and tradition had a strong impact on the production of both original and translated literature. Let us examine how this negotiation affected the shape of the literary polysystem.

Drama and poetry were the genres which gravitated most closely to the centre of the polysystem. Theatre was the literary form in which the influence of French models was most perceivable. The major Italian dramatists of the century, Scipione Maffei, Apostolo Zeno (1669-1750), Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) and Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793), were all enthusiastic admirers of classical French theatre and adopted Racine, Corneille and Molière as their models (see Graf, 1911, p.16; Hainsworth and Robey, 2002, p.247; Duranti, 2009, p.462). French theatrical companies were often invited to perform tragedies and comedies in the original language in the main Italian cities (see Graf, 1911, p.11; Ferrari, 1925, p.x-xi). Performances in Italian, however, were far more common. These were based on the translations which proliferated from the end of the seventeenth century<sup>30</sup>. The Italian poet and dramatist Pier Jacopo Martello (1665-1727) gives a good idea of the success of these translations. In 1722 he wrote that “Italian theatres staged nothing but French dramas in our language, (God willing) improved” (in Graf, 1911 p.11, my translation)<sup>31</sup>. The popularity of French theatre in Italy soon began to affect local theatrical production. Just as happened in France, public performances came to be perceived as “a social rite and a vehicle of moral instruction” (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.353; see also Graf, 1911, p.xxxii). Italian dramatists and playwrights

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<sup>30</sup> The records in OPAC SBN, the database of the Sistema Bibliotecario Nazionale, show that at least six of Racine’s tragedies were translated between 1700 and 1730. Of these, *Andromaque* (1667), *Britannicus* (1669), *Mithridate* (1673) and *Iphigénie* (1675) went through more than one translation and/or reprint. Five comedies by Molière were translated in the same interval of time. Two of them, *Le Malade Imaginaire* (1673) and *L’Avaro ou l’École du mensonge* (1668) appeared in 1701. No other work by Molière seems to have appeared before 1718, the year which saw the publication of the Italian versions of *Le Dépit amoureux* (1654), *Les Précieuses ridicules* (1659) and *L’Étourdi ou les Contretemps* (1655). Corneille was extremely popular. Twelve of his tragedies were translated for the first time between 1700 and 1702 and went through numerous re-translations and reprints before 1750.

<sup>31</sup> “- non soffrirsi ne’ palchi italiani, se non li drammi franzesi nel nostro idioma (se piaccia a Dio) migliorati -”.

such as Maffei and Goldoni imbued their works with allusions to contemporary society, thus providing an effective tool with which to condemn the privileges, powers and corruption of the upper classes<sup>32</sup>.

If on the one hand Italian theatre heavily drew on French models, on the other hand, local theatrical production was invigorated and enhanced through the rediscovery of the classical tradition. Zeno and Metastasio made a significant contribution in this regard. Their main achievement consists of having reformed the operatic genre of melodrama following the conventions of the influential Academy of the Arcadia, of which they both were members<sup>33</sup>. Established in 1690 as “a classicizing reaction against the excess of the Baroque” (Hainsworth and Robey, 2002, p.xi), the Academy was founded on the principle that artistic composition had to draw inspiration from the poetic harmony and the pastoral and epic themes typical of classical models. As a consequence, literary forms which did not meet this requirement were considered inadequate and marginal. The models from which the Arcadians drew their inspiration included Horatio, Catullus, Theocritus, Virgil and Homer, the translation and the imitation of whose works were strongly encouraged. Imitation involved retaining the harmony and the simplicity of the verse as well as employing mythological characters and idyllic settings (see Brand and Pertile, 1996, pp.350-351)<sup>34</sup>.

While theatre and poetry occupied the centre of the polysystem, peripheral literary forms were gradually gaining weight. The openness to foreign literatures resulted in the increasing importation of prose fiction, which the Italian literary establishment commonly despised as “mezzo di volgarizzazione, anche se elegante e controllata” [means of vulgarisation even when elegant and controlled] (Binni, 1948, p.153)<sup>35</sup>. Among the most successful prose works to be translated into Italian were four narratives

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<sup>32</sup> Goldoni deserves particular merit for having brought theatre closer to the lower classes. His plays, often performed in dialect, emphasised “the moral superiority of the merchant class through satirizing the idle arrogant nobles in Venetian society” (Hainsworth and Robey, 2002, p.539). Comedies in dialect became increasingly popular throughout the peninsula, especially in Tuscany and in Naples (see Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.356, 365).

<sup>33</sup> Zeno’s contribution consisted of purifying opera from “the chaotic abundance of the Seicento theatre” (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.363). By prioritising dramatic action and lyrical reflections over music and comic and low-life scenes (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.364), Zeno introduced the genre known as *dramma per musica*, or *opera seria*. The comic characters and situations removed from the main action came to be used in *intermezzi* performed between the acts. These gradually evolved into a new operatic genre, the *opera buffa*, which Goldoni brought to success in the 1750s. Metastasio took the reform a step further by making melodrama more appealing to the contemporary taste of the emerging bourgeoisie. Although branded by aristocratic traditionalists as hybrid and monstrous for its mellifluous characters and lack of verisimilitude (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.355), Metastasio’s melodrama enjoyed a great success in Italy as well as in the rest of Europe.

<sup>34</sup> The Arcadia did not categorically oppose to translation of contemporary literary works. Appealing to the classical principle of tragedy as *magistra vitae*, some academicians such as Filippo Merelli, Gianbattista Tamagni and Eustachio Manfredi undertook the translation of French modern pieces.

<sup>35</sup> “mezzo di volgarizzazione, anche se elegante e controllata”

sharing the theme of travel - *Le Avventure di Telemaco Figliuolo d'Ulisse* (Fénelon, 1699), *I Viaggi di Ciro* (Ramsey, 1727), Swift's *Viaggi del Capitano Lemuel Gulliver* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)<sup>36</sup>. The work by François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon was a great success and went through dozens of reprints after having been published for the first time in 1702 (Duranti, 2009, p.462). Andrew Michael Ramsey's and Swift's *Viaggi* were both published in 1729. *Robinson Crusoe* followed in 1730. Gaultier de Coste La Calprenède's *Cassandre* (1642-1650) and *Cléopâtre* (1647-1658), translated respectively in 1659 and 1652 and Alain-René Lesage's *Le Diable boiteux* (1707), translated in 1716, were also very popular (see Graf, 1911, pp.10-11; Duranti, 2009, p.462). Some direct translations of English works appeared as a result of a growing interest in British literature derived from the French anglomania. Joseph Addison's *Cato* (1713) was first translated by Anton Maria Salvini in 1715. Paolo Rolli's versions of Richard Steele's *The Conscious Lovers* (1722) and of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) were published in 1724 and in 1729. In 1724 Antonio Conti translated Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* (1714) (Mari, 1994, p.25). The translation was published for the first time in 1739.

On the basis of what we have observed so far, it can be affirmed that in the opening decades of the eighteenth century translation played a primary role in the enrichment and in the reinvigoration of the Italian literary polysystem. On the one hand it reasserted the centrality of the classics and the works of the Italian tradition thus providing the conditions for a common cultural identity to emerge. On the other hand, it significantly contributed to the renovation and the expansion of the literary polysystem by favouring the introduction of new literary genres and forms. These gradually gained visibility, thus challenging the centrality of conservative literary models and creating a lively cultural environment. Translations of French and British prose fiction works presented Italian readers with the innovative concept of reading for pleasure, providing them with a valuable alternative to the classicising and sublime tropes of the Arcadian tradition.

An overview of the translational trends dominating in the first half of the century will give a better idea of how translation contributed to reshape the literary polysystem by favouring the integration of literary works like *Gulliver's Travels*.

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<sup>36</sup> Despite having been born in Scotland, Ramsey spent most of his life in France, where he became close friend with the popular poet and writer Fénelon. He wrote his work in French. Therefore, differently from *Viaggi del Capitano Lemuel Gulliver*, *I Viaggi di Ciro* was not an indirect translation.

### 3.2 Translation trends in the first half of the eighteenth century

Eighteenth-century translation discourse and practice are primarily concerned with the continuation of the tradition of the so-called ‘libertine translations’ or *belles infidèles*. This tradition was initiated and promoted by two groups of influential translators of classical works active in the seventeenth century - the English Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) and John Denham (1615-1669) and the French Nicolas Perrot D’Ablancourt (1606-1664), Anne Dacier (1654-1720) and Antoine Houdar de la Motte (1672-1731)<sup>37</sup>.

Libertine translators acknowledged the authority of their sources, but at the same time undermined it by acting as authors in their own right (see McMurran, 2008, p.153). In the preface to his version of Lucian published in 1709, d’Ablancourt compared classical works of literature to a beautiful face on which “you will always discover some features [...] which you wish were not there” (in Lefevere, 1992b, p.36). These defects, he claimed, demanded the intervention of the translator. While illustrating his way of proceeding further on in the preface d’Ablancourt declared that

I do not always stick to the author’s words, nor even to his thoughts. I keep the effect he wanted to produce in mind, and then I arrange the material after the fashion of our time. Different times do not just require different words, but also different thoughts, and ambassadors usually dress in the fashions of the country they are sent to, for fear of appearing ridiculous in the eyes of the people they try to please. [...] I have not allowed myself the same freedom in all cases. In fact there are many passages I have translated word for word, at least to the extent to which that is possible in an elegant translation. There are also passages in which I have considered what ought to be said, or what I could say, rather than what he actually said (in Lefevere, 1992b, p.36-37).

Similarly, commenting on his 1714 translation of the *Iliad*, de la Motte admitted

I have taken the liberty of changing whatever I thought disagreeable. I am a translator in many parts and an original author in many others. I consider myself a mere translator wherever I have only made slight changes. I have often had the temerity to go beyond this, however: I did cut out whole books, I did change the way matters were set forth, and I have even invented new material (in Lefevere, 1992b, p.29-30).

Translators felt bound to ensure the survival of classical literary works as well as to preserve the reputation of their authors. For this to become possible, source texts needed to be ‘updated’ and adjusted so that they did not produce in modern readers an “effect contrary to the author’s intention” (d’Ablancourt, in Lefevere, 1992b, p.36).

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<sup>37</sup> For more information on the origin of libertine translation see Hermans (1986) and Venuti (1995)

Interventions consisted of reduction in length through the elimination of repetitions, “unnecessary preparations” and “uninteresting episodes” (de la Motte, in Lefevere, 1992b, p.29) as well as of “filthy” passages and “old hackneyed stories, proverbs, examples, and outworn comparisons” (d’Ablancourt, in Lefevere, 1992b, p.36). New material was added to compensate some of the losses and patch together the parts of the originals which best conveyed the ‘spirit’ of the author.

The clearly distinguishable relationship which the target texts maintained with the originals made them fit for classification as ‘translations’. However, the creative transformations entailed by the translation process and the transparency of language and style of the translations disguised them as original productions (see McMurran, 2008, p.158). Hermans observes that due to the hybrid nature of the target texts, “translators of the new school grew uncertain about how to designate their work” (1986, p.38). D’Ablancourt declared that his rendition of Lucian was “certainly not a translation, properly speaking” but something better (in Lefevere, 1992b, p. 37), Dacier defined her 1699 version of the *Iliad* a “generous translation” (in Lefevere, 1992b, p.12), Cowley spoke of his “manner of Translating, or Imitating” (in Hermans, 1986, p.38; Weissbort and Eysteinsson, 2006, p.125), and John Dryden classified Cowley’s and Denham’s practice as ‘imitation’ (1680, in Venuti, 2002, p.38).

In the course of the eighteenth century, as classical translation began to compete with translation of vernacular literatures (Salama-Carr, 2009, p.407; McMurran, 2008, p.150; Hermans, 1986, p.29), the same translation strategy came to be applied to contemporary works.

The Abbé Desfontaines’ 1727 translation of *Gulliver’s Travels* effectively illustrates this transition. In the lengthy preface to his translation, Desfontaines declares to have found in the work

some very weak and even very bad parts; impenetrable allegories, insipid allusions, puerile details, low thoughts, boring repetitions, coarse jokes, pointless pleasantries: in a word things which translated literally into French would have appeared indecent, paltry, impertinent, would have disgusted the good taste which reign in France, would have covered me with confusion, and would certainly have drawn just reproaches on my head if I had been so weak and imprudent as to expose them to the eyes of the public (in Williams, 1970, p.79).

In order to remedy these uncomfortable details Desfontaines confesses that he “believed it proper to take the course of suppressing them entirely” (in Williams, 1970, pp.79-80). He then justifies his attitude by inviting his readers to “consider that it is natural for a translator to let himself be won over, and to feel sometimes too much

indulgence for his author” (in Williams, 1970, p.80). Desfontaines is clearly satisfied with the result of his work and boldly admits that “I thought myself capable of making good these deficiencies and replacing the losses by the help of my imagination, and by certain turns that I gave to things which displeased me” (ibid.). Further on in the preface Desfontaines indicates cultural differences as a further pretext to justify his interventions.

[i]t is clear that this book was written not for France, but for England, and that what it contains of direct and particular satire does not touch us. Next, I protest that if I had found in my author any sharp strokes which seemed to me to carry a marked and natural allusion, and whose bearing I had felt to be injurious to anyone in this country, I would have suppressed them without hesitation, just as I have struck out everything that seemed to me gross and indecent (in Williams, 1970, p.83).

The analysis of the text of the translation reveals that Desfontaines was consistent with what he had anticipated in the preface. Secondary details, wordy descriptions (see Goulding, 1924, pp.63-65) and culture specific references to English politicians and to the topography of London (see Graeber, 2005, p.11) are frequently omitted. Losses are compensated for with the introduction of lengthy moral reflections which give the work a distinct didactic tone (see Goulding, 1924, pp.66-67; Graeber, 2005, p.13). The description of the Lilliputian schooling system (Part I, Chapter VI), for instance, becomes an occasion to discuss the qualities of good educators and what skills and virtues they should teach their pupils. This addition extends over six pages. Due to Desfontaines’ substantial interventions, the division into chapters does not always follow the original scheme. In the voyage to Brobdingnag chapters III, IV and V are merged in chapter III, and chapters VII and VIII in chapter VII. Most importantly, Desfontaines’ eloquent moralising additions attributed to *Gulliver’s Travels* a different significance than in Britain. If the British public was divided among those who saw Swift’s work as an entertaining political allegory and those who took it for an insult to mankind (see Chapter Two, section 2.1), French readers were presented with an “agreeable moral treatise” (Goulding, 1924, p.67 and p.80; also in Graeber, 2005, p.13). It is particularly interesting to notice how differently the British and the French audience responded to the fourth voyage. In Britain, as it has been seen, the opposition between Yahoos and Houynhnms was often attributed to the mind of a monstrous misanthrope. In May 1727 the French periodical *Le Mercure* described Part IV as the most “beautiful and gripping” and its moral as “fine and elevated” (in Goulding, 1924, p.79).

Clearly, in his attempt to make *Gulliver's Travels* palatable to eighteenth-century France, Desfontaines followed a procedure analogous to the one regularly adopted by seventeenth-century libertine translators of classical works. Desfontaines' adherence to the translational norms of eighteenth-century France is probably the main reason why his was the most successful of the two French versions available at that time. We remember that another translation had appeared in The Hague three months earlier. Despite introducing "chaste and bowdlerizing words" (Gregori, 2005, p.19) and occasionally allowing "accuracy to be sacrificed to prudery" (Graeber, 2005, p.14), the anonymous author of this version is generally agreed to have provided a rather faithful representation of Swift's work (see for example Goulding, 1924, p.72; Krake, Real, Spiekermann, 2005, p.98). While analysing the text of the Hague translation, Sybil Goulding reports that "no mistranslation can be traced across the four Voyages, or any amplification of the original, or any omission, except a few lines of the description of the beggars in the streets of Lorbrulgrud, and five lines of the description of the Yahoos" (p.72, my translation)<sup>38</sup>. The propensity of the author of the Hague translation to remain loyal to the source resulted in a version of *Gulliver's Travels* which had little in common with the literary models with which French readers were accustomed. This may explain why they found it less agreeable than Desfontaines' highly domesticated version.

We have seen that libertine practices in translation were far from being uncommon. However, this does not mean that these were universally accepted and applied. Dryden judged libertine strategies too invasive and proposed an intermediary approach, 'paraphrase', which stands between two poles, 'imitation' and 'metaphrase', or word-for-word translation. In Dryden's opinion, the authority and the creative abilities of translators are subordinate to those of the author of the original and, for this reason, they cannot aspire to ameliorate them. In the 'dedication' prefaced to his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (1697) he claimed that

[h]e, who invents, is master of his thoughts and words: he can turn and vary them as he pleases, till he renders them harmonious; but the wretched translator has no such privilege: for being tied to the thoughts, he must make what music he can in the expression: and, for this reason, it cannot always be so sweet as that of the original (1836, p.78).

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<sup>38</sup> "Il n'y a à travers les quatre *Voyages* aucune trace de contresens, aucune amplification de l'original, et aucune omission, sauf quelques lignes de la description des gueux dans les rues de Lorbrulgrud et cinq lignes environ de celle des Yahoos".



Among those who shared Dryden's perspective was Etienne de Silhouette. In 'Réflexions préliminaires sur le goût des traductions' (1737) he sharply criticised Desfontaines' translation of *Gulliver's Travels* and argued that "Swift's unique original" should have been rendered "with fidelity and exactitude" (in McMurrin, 2008, p.160).

Outside France and Britain libertine approaches were not always the dominant translation strategy. As emphasised by Even-Zohar (1978, p.121) and by Lefevere (1985, p.236), the extent to which source texts are manipulated is strictly dependent on the status and self-image of national literatures (see Chapter One, section 1.2). France was the leading cultural power in eighteenth-century Europe. Hence, it is not surprising that French translators were particularly inclined to domesticate foreign works, especially when faced with texts produced in rival England. On 23 June 1727 Desfontaines proudly sent Swift a copy of the second edition of his translation. The book was accompanied by a letter in which the translator justifies his interventions by pointing that

everything which pleases England does not meet with the same approval here, whether because our customs are different, or because allusions and allegories which are obvious in one country are not so in another; or finally because of the difference in taste between the two countries. I wished to give the French a book for their own use, and this made me write a free and loose translation (in Williams, 1970, p.87).

Swift found Desfontaines' attitude unpalatable and was clearly annoyed at how his work had been manipulated. In July 1727 he answered back that

[w]e agree here that taste is not always the same in different nations, but we are inclined to believe that good taste is everywhere the same among people of wit, judgment and learning. If then, the works of Mr. Gulliver are calculated only for the British Isles, that traveler must pass for a very wretched writer. The same vices and the same follies reign everywhere, at least in all the civilised countries of Europe, and the author who writes only for a town, a province, a kingdom, or even a century, so far from deserving to be translated, does not even deserve to be read (in Williams, 1970, p.87).

Desfontaines' sentiments were shared by many French translators of contemporary British literary works including Justus van Effen, whose 1721 translation of Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), *Le Conte de Tonneau* enjoyed a wide circulation in France as well as on the Continent. In the preface to his translation he wrote that "[a]lthough these passages strike and charm English readers whose intellectual horizon corresponds to that of the authors, they can only be displeasing to foreigners with a mind more exact

and less volatile” (in Graeber in Real, 2005, p.8). Antoine Prévost made similar remarks while commenting on his 1760 version of Richardson’s *Pamela*. Prévost declared to have

suppressed English customs where they may appear shocking to other nations, or made them conform to customs prevalent in the rest of Europe. It seemed to me that those remainders of the old and uncouth British ways, which only habit prevents the British themselves from noticing, would dishonour a book in which manners should be noble and virtuous (in Lefevere, 1992b, p.40).

Comments of this kind would be more difficult to find in as ‘weak’ (Even Zohar, 1978, p.121) a literary polysystem as that of eighteenth-century Italy. Here, at least until the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the choice of what translation strategy to follow depended on the nature of the source being translated.

Translation of classical works, which, as we have seen, was strongly encouraged by the Academy of the Arcadia, tended to privilege literalness over freedom. There was a general confidence that due to the flexibility of the Italian language, the constant and traditional exposure to classical culture, and a better knowledge of Latin (Brettoni, 2004, p.22), Italian translators were the only ones who could reproduce originals closely without disfiguring them. In his pamphlet *Traduttori Italiani o sia notizia de’ volgarizzamenti d’antichi Scrittori Latini, e Greci che sono in Luce* [Italian translators, or notice of the vernacularisations of relevant ancient Latin and Greek authors] (1720) Scipione Maffei expressed this view in the following terms

what would Virgil’s and Homer’s verses become, if woven with the natural construction and the position of words characteristic of the ordinary language? Some languages do it habitually, unable to find a way to vary such texture [...]. Italian, on the other hand, can transpose and not transpose; and speak naturally when required, and depart from the familiar and common order of words when it is most convenient (in Brettoni, 2004, p.23, my translation)<sup>39</sup>.

Anton Maria Salvini, translator of Homer, Hesiod, Anacreon, Callimachus and Theocritus (Brettoni, 2004, p.24) as well as of Addison’s *Cato* (see section 3.1) argued that faithful translation did not necessarily correspond to verbatim rendering. While reflecting on his attitude as a translator of classical works, he declared that

I tried as hard as I could to faithfully represent in the first instance the concepts of the authors whom I set to translate; in the second instance the words and the

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<sup>39</sup> “Che diventerebbero i versi di Virgilio e d’Omero, se tessuti fossero con la natural costruzione, e con quella giacitura di parole, secondo cui si parla ordinariamente? Alcune lingue così procedono sempre, e non possono alterare in verun modo cotal testura [...]. L’Italiana all’incontro e può trasporre e non trasporre; e parlar naturalmente quando fa al caso, e allontanarsi dall’ordine famigliare, e comune delle parole, quando torna bene”.

expressions as exactly as possible; in the third instance what is most challenging, the air, the colour and the character which are conveyed through the sentiments together with the words, and that incomprehensible something else (1715; in Brettoni p.25, my translation)<sup>40</sup>.

If translators of classical texts paid great respect to their sources, translators of modern works showed a more libertine attitude. According to Luigi Ferrari (1925), before 1725 liberty was practically the norm in translation of French theatre (p.viii). Manipulation was performed at both the textual and paratextual level. Titles were arbitrarily modified; the name of the author was altered or suppressed; the number of the acts was normally reduced to three; characters were omitted or added; the action was thickened with new episodes and interpolated with comic and burlesque scenes; dialogues underwent awkward and unjustified cuts and additions (pp.viii-ix)<sup>41</sup>. Towards 1725 an inversion of this tendency took place. The Arcadian campaign against exaggerations and formal peculiarities and the associated development of more refined literary and theatrical tastes might, according to Ferrari, have significantly contributed to this change. Among those who advocated the adoption of less libertine strategies in theatrical translation was Antonio Conti. In the preface to his 1739 translation of Racine's *Athalie* (1691), he declared that he had taken Salvini as a model and to have been "scrupulous in expressing the concepts, faithful in representing the expressions of the words [...], diligent and careful in grasping the air and the character of the Author" (in Ferrari, 1725, p.42, my translation)<sup>42</sup>.

Having completed the excursus on eighteenth-century literary and translational trends, let us now proceed with the comparative analysis of the first Italian translation of *Gulliver's Travels* and of its source, the 1727 version published in The Hague by Gosse and Neaulme. As we will see, the background information gathered so far is key to interpreting the decisions made by the Italian translator and understand what position Swift's work assumed as it debuted in the Italian literary polysystem.

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<sup>40</sup> "Mi sforzai dunque, per quanto fare per me si potè, di rappresentare fedelmente in primo luogo i concetti degli autori, che io presi a tradurre; in secondo luogo, esattamente il possibile, le parole medesime, e l'espressione; e in terzo luogo, ciò che è il più malagevole, l'aria, il colore, e 'l carattere, che da' sentimenti insieme, e dalle parole, e da qualche altra cosa ancora, che non s'intenda, risulta."

<sup>41</sup> Ferrari cites Girolamo Gigli's versions of Corneille's and Racine's pieces as typical examples of these imitative reproductions.

<sup>42</sup> "Io sono stato religioso nell' esporre i concetti, fedele nel rappresentare l'espressioni delle parole, [...] diligente e sollecito nel prender l'aria e il carattere dell'Autore".

### 3.3. *Viaggi del Capitano Lemuel Gulliver in diversi Paesi lontani* (Corona, 1729)

#### 3.3.1 Macro-level

The Italian translation, like its French source, is composed of two volumes, each containing two voyages. The comparison of the title pages allows for some useful preliminary considerations.

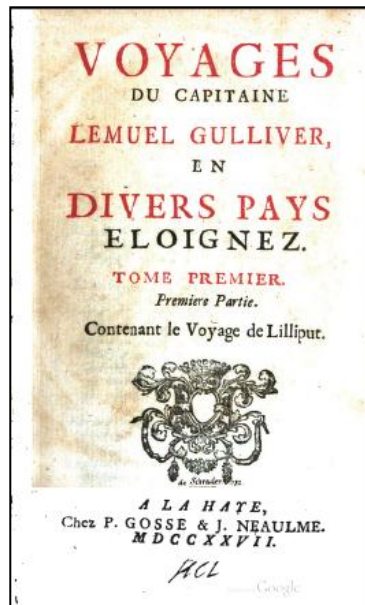


Fig.2 Title page of The Hague version, Tome I

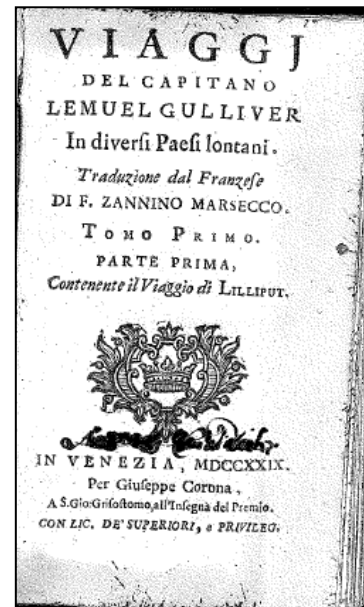


Fig.3 Title page of Marsecco's version, Tome I

The Italian edition has a title which translates literally that of the French edition and is explicitly presented as a translation from French by F. Zannino Marsecco. This detail has important implications. In France, at least until the appearance of Desfontaines' translation, Swift's work could easily be mistaken for an indigenous and original work. Italian readers, on the other hand, were immediately made aware of having to do with a derivative work. The fact that the identity of the translator is known allows us to make conjectures about the significance attributed to the work at the time its translation was commissioned.

Francesco Zannino Marsecco, pseudonym of the Venetian Francesco Manzoni, was a prolific translator of French works. He is the author of nine translations published between 1729 and 1751<sup>43</sup>. It can therefore be assumed that when he embarked on the translation of the *Voyages*, the Venetian translator was only at the beginning of his translating career. Besides *Viaggi del Capitano Lemuel Gulliver* and *I Viaggi di Ciro* (see Chapter 3, section 3.1), 1729 saw the publication of a third translation by

<sup>43</sup> Search across OPAC SBN produced a list of eight items. One further translation is recorded in Melzi's *Dizionario delle Opere Anonime e Pseudonime di Scrittori Italiani* (1852)

Marsecco. The work in question is a treatise by Louis Silvestre de Sacy entitled *Dell'Amicizia* [A discourse on friendship] (1703). Five translations appeared between 1730 and 1751. These include the monumental *Storia romana dalla fondazione di Roma* [Roman history from the foundation of Rome] (Catrou and Rouille, 1725-48), originally in 21 volumes published between 1730 and 1737. In his 1852 bibliographical work, Gaetano Melzi commented on Marsecco's abilities by claiming that "his versions were deservedly despised, and the translator is to be placed among the number of those who do not know French nor Italian" (1852, p.165, my translation)<sup>44</sup>. These claims, which are not supported by any justification, seem not to have been widely shared in the previous century.

Clearly, Marsecco was not the type of learned author/translator who considered translation as a delightful pastime or as a practice indispensable for the transmission of the teachings of the ancients. He belonged to the array of professional translators which was growing as a result of the rapid expansion of the international book trade. Eighteenth-century professional translators were often stereotypically associated with fraudulence, treachery and poor quality work (see McMurran, 2010, p.55; Ferrari, 1925, p.xvi; Graf, 1911, p.244; Marchesi, 1903, p.44). It is not unlikely, therefore, that the judgments made by Melzi were marred by this view. The fact that the translation of *Gulliver's Travels* was taken up by a professional translator is not surprising. As I have argued in the previous section, in the Italian literary landscape of the early eighteenth century, prose fiction was still largely perceived as a 'vulgar' genre. Accordingly, venturing in translating prose works would not always have been considered decorous. These observations lead us to think that on its first appearance in Italy, *Gulliver's Travels* was not attributed any particular significance and that it mingled with the many French and English novels imported as a direct consequence of the spreading Gallomania.

Moving on with the analysis of the paratextual features, we notice that, in contrast to the Hague edition, the Italian translation is provided with a preface by the publisher.

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<sup>44</sup> "le sue versioni furono meritamente dispreziate; ed il traduttore deve porsi nel numero di coloro che non sanno né il francese né l'italiano".

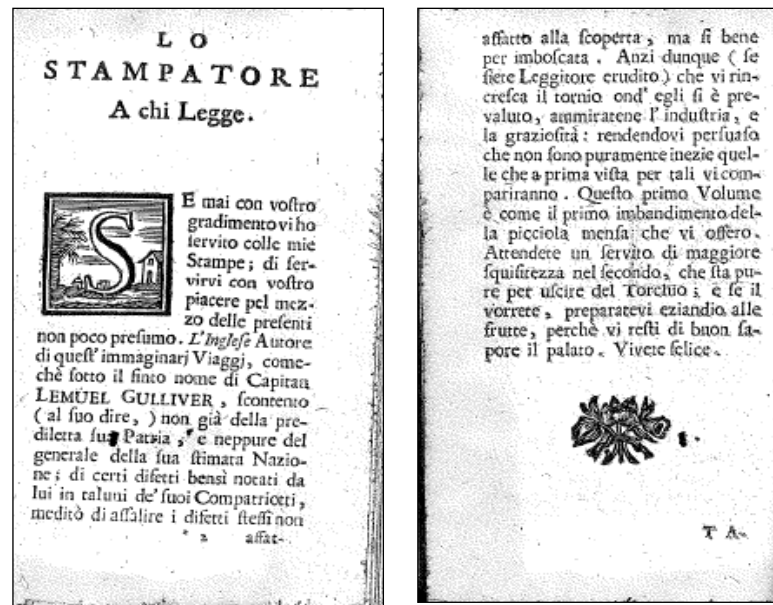


Fig.4 Preface to Marsecco's Translation

The presentation of the work given by the publisher Giuseppe Corona is concise but revealing. The printer instantly discloses that “the English author” (“l’*Inglese* autore”) uses a series of imaginary voyages and the fictitious Captain Lemuel Gulliver to criticise his country and his fellow countrymen. This specification makes it possible for Italian readers to collocate the work in the cultural context in which it originated, thus inviting them to use their knowledge and preconceptions of England and Englishness to interpret it. The declaration of the author’s critical intention intimates that the work is a satire. This revelation represents in itself an important reading key. However, Corona provides his readers with further support by specifying that it is only by looking beyond trifling details that the author’s “industry and gracefulness” (“l’*industria*, e la *graziosità*”) can be admired.

In the closing section of the preface, the two volumes of which Swift’s work is composed are portrayed as two banquets. The second volume is said to be more exquisite than the first (“attendete un servito di maggiore squisitezza nel secondo”). This metaphor, which was presumably intended to advertise the imminent publication of the second volume, suggests that the perception which early Italian had of *Gulliver’s Travels* corresponded to that of that of their French counterparts. As previously noted (see section 3.2) French literary criticism praised the fourth voyage for its “fine and elevated” moral and didacticism.

The tables of contents are next in the sequence of elements which constitute the introductory paratextual apparatus in both the French and in the Italian translation. The similarities which they share are remarkable from both the point of view of the layout

and the content. The statements which summarise the content of the chapters in the Italian edition are a close translation of the French source. Adherence to the source text can be observed at both the lexical and syntactical level.



Fig.5 First pages of the tables of contents of *A Voyage to Lilliput*, in the Hague and Marsecco's version

A further paratextual element which assimilates the two editions is the pictorial apparatus. The French version contains four engravings, one for each of the four voyages. All engravings but the one of the voyage to the country of the Houyhnhnms are reproduced in the Italian editions. The presence of a blank page and the disconnection of the text in the section where the illustration was supposed to be included (see Marsecco's translation, 1729, vol.II, pp.119-121) suggest that the omission was due to a printing error. The set of illustrations used by Corona are clearly a copy of the Dutch engravings although some minor variations can be noticed. In the engraving included in the first part some of the Lilliputians have disappeared. The same can be observed with regard to the buttons on the sleeve of Gulliver's coat and the pegs to which the laces are fastened (see Fig.8 and Fig.9).



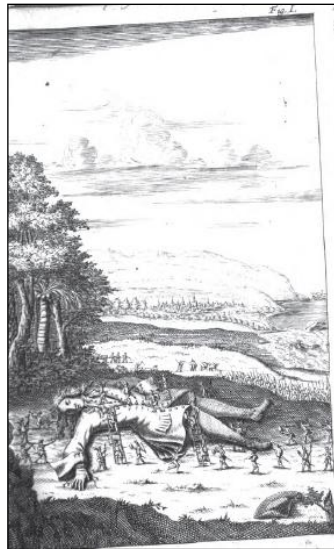


Fig.6 Gulliver on the shore of Lilliput  
in the Hague version



Fig.7 Gulliver on the shore of Lilliput  
in Marsecco's version

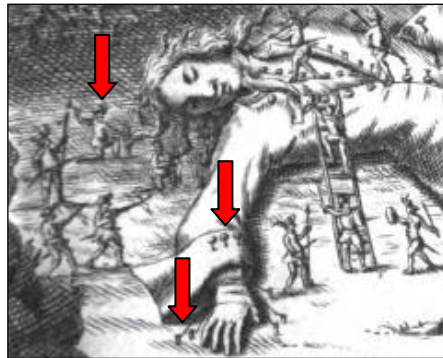


Fig.8 Detail, in the Hague version



Fig.9 Detail, in Marsecco's version

On reflecting on the relation between micro and macro structural level, Lambert and Van Gorp advance the hypothesis that through the analysis of the macrostructure it is possible to make conjectures on the general translation strategy adopted during the rendering of the actual text. They draw on Toury's concepts of 'adequacy' and 'acceptability' and claim that "a translated text which is more or less 'adequate' on the macro-structural level will generally also be more or less adequate on the micro-structural level [...]". "In the same way", they assume, "a translation which is 'acceptable on the macro-level' will also probably be 'acceptable' on the micro-level" (1985, p.49). On the basis of these considerations, the similarities shared by the Hague and the Venetian version suggest that Marsecco's translation faithfully reproduces the content of the French source on all levels. This hypothesis, in my opinion, holds only to a certain extent as it does not take into consideration that the preparation of the text and of the paratext of the edition might have been assigned to different agents and that



different criteria might have been followed for the composition of the two components. Micro-analysis will make it possible to establish whether this is the case.

### 3.3.2 Micro-level

The word-count of the four passages of the Voyage to Lilliput revealed that the passages in the Italian translation are slightly shorter than those in the French source (766, 677, 927, 562 words in the target text against 866, 687, 944, 617 words in the source text), thus suggesting a predominance of reductive shifts. This hypothesis was shortly after confirmed by the comparative analysis.

The Italian translation is overall an accurate rendering of its source. The interventions made by Marsecco are minor and do not generally affect the meaning of the source. The tables below give an idea of the proximity between source and target text by comparing the opening sentences of the four passages. As can easily be seen, Marsecco closely follows the source on the level of both syntax and vocabulary.

Motte, 1726	Gosse & Neualme, 1727	Corona, 1729
For my own Part, I swam where Fortune directed me, and was push'd forward by Wind and Tide.	[...] pour moi, je nageai au hazard, poussé par le vent & par la marée;	Quanto a me; sospinto dal vento, e dalla marea, nuotai alla ventura,
I often left my Legs drop, and could feel no bottom: But when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the Storm was much abated.	j'essayai plus d'une fois quoique inutilement, si je ne trouverois pas de fond: mais enfin, par le plus grand bonheur du monde, j'en trouvai, dans l'instant que je n'en pouvois plus, & presque en même temps, la Tempête se ralentit.	e più d'una volta, comechè inutilmente, procurai di sentir fondo alla fine per rara felicissima sorte sul punto che io stava di già mancando, ne sentii e quasi nel tempo stesso la burrasca si mitigò.
The Declivity was so small, that I walked near a Mile before I got to the Shore, which I conjectur'd was about eight a Clock in the Evening.	Je fis près d'un mile avant que de gagner la Côte, parce que la pente du rivage vers la Mer, étoit presque imperceptible, & ce fut environ à huit heures du soir que j'y arrivai.	Pria di guadagnare la terra asciutta, faticai per quasi un miglio; essendo poco men che impercettibile il pendio di quel lido; e non fu che alle ore otto della sera che vi pervenni.
I then advanced forward near half a Mile, but could not discover any sign of Houses or Inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a Condition, that I did not observe them.	Je fis à peu près un demi mile sans apercevoir ni Maisons, ni Habitants:	Camminai presso poco un mezzo miglio senza scuoprire né Case né Abitatori:
I was extremely tired, and with that, and the Heat of the Weather, and about half a Pint of Brandy that I drank as I left the Ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep.	l'extrême fatigue que j'avais soufferte, le chaud qu'il faisoit, & par-dessus cela, une demi-pinte d'eau de vie que j'avais avalée en quittant le Vaisseau m'accablèrent de sommeil.	gli estremi sofferti stenti, il caldo che regnava; e oltracciò, una mezza boccia d'acquavite che io aveva tracannata innanzi di lasciar il Vascello m'oppressero di sonno

Table 3 Opening sentences of passage one  
in Motte's 1726 edition, the Hague translation and Marsecco's version

Motte, 1726	Gosse & Neualme, 1727	Corona, 1729
The Emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the Country Shows, wherein they exceed all Nations I have known, both for Dexterity and Magnificence.	L'Empereur eut un jour envie de me regaler de quelques-un des Spectacles du Pais, en quoi il faut avouer que les <i>Lilliputiens</i> surpassent toutes les autres Nations du Monde, tant à l'égard de l'adresse que de la magnificence.	Venne un giorno in capo all'Imperadore di regalarmi con alcuni spettacoli del Paese; nel che certamente confessarsi dee, che i <i>Lillipuziani</i> superano tutte le Nazioni del mondo, sì a riguardo della loro industria, che della loro magnificenza.
I was diverted with none so much as that of the Rope-Dancers,	Aucun spectacle ne me divertit tant, que celui des Danseurs de corde;	Fra tutti gli spettacoli io rimasi più ricreato da quello de' Saltatori da corda.
performed upon a slender white Thread, extended about two Foot, and twelve Inches from the Ground.	ils faisoient les sauts les plus périlleux sur un fil blanc fort mince, qui avoit deux pieds en long, & qui étoit tendu à la hauteur de douze pouces de terre.	Facean eglino le più arrischiare capriole sopra un fil bianco assai sottile, di due piedi di lunghezza, e che era teso all'altezza da terra di dodici pollici.
Upon which, I shall desire liberty, with the Reader's Patience, to enlarge a little.	Surquoi il faut, avec la permission du Lecteur, que je m'étende un peu davantage.	Su che, con buona permission di chi legge, è forza che io mi stenda alquanto più.
This Diversion is only practiced by those Persons who are Candidates for great Employments, and high Favour, at Court.	Ce divertissement n'est en usage, qui parmi ceux qui aspirent à la faveur du Prince, ou à de grands emplois.	Non è in uso un tale divertimento che fra que' soli che aspirano alla grazia del Principe, o a grand'impieghi.
They are trained in this Art from their Youth, and are not always of noble Birth, or liberal Education.	Ils s'exercent dans cet art, dès leur jeunesse, & ne sont pas toujours remarquables par une naissance distinguée, ou par une belle éducation.	Fin dalla prima giovinezza si esercitano essi in quest'arte, e non sempre si distinguono con un nascimento illustre, o con una bella educazione.

Table 4 Opening sentences of passage two  
in Motte's 1726 edition, the Hague translation and Marsecco's version

Motte, 1726	Gosse & Neualme, 1727	Corona, 1729
He began with Compliments on my Liberty, said he might pretend to some Merit in it; but, however, added, that if it had not been for the present Situation of things at Court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon.	Il commença par me faire des compliments sur le recouvrement de ma liberté, à laquelle, disoit-il, j'ai contribué autant que j'ai pû, quoique ce soit aux circonstances où se trouve nôtre Empire, que vous en soiez principalement redevable;	Diede principio da' complimenti in proposito alla mia liberazione; a cui, <i>diceva egli</i> , io ho contribuito con tutte le mie forze; tutto che principalmente voi ne siate debitore alle circostanze, onde rinvienei il nostro Imperio;
For, <i>said he</i> , as flounshing a Condition as we may appear to be in to Foreigners, we labour under two mighty Evils; a violent Faction at home, and the Danger of an Invasion by a most potent Enemy from abroad.	car, ajouta t'il en continuant son discours quelque puissant que notre Etat puse paroître à des étrangers, il est affoibli par deux maux affreux, une violente Faction au dedans, & un Ennemi redoutable au dehors.	mercè che, ( <i>ei soggiunse continuando il suo discorso</i> ), per quanto formidabile sembrar possa a gli Stranieri il nostro Dominio, egli è affievolito da due spaventevoli mali; da una violenta Fazione al di dentro, e da un terribile nemico al di fuori.
As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy Moons past, there have been two struggling Parties in this Empire, under the Names of <i>Tramecksan</i> , and <i>Slamecksan</i> , from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves.	A l'égard du premier de ces maux, il faut que vous sachiez que depuis plus de septante lunes, l'Etat est déchiré par deux Partis, sous les noms de <i>Tramecksan</i> & de <i>Slamecksan</i> , noms qui sont dérivez de la differente hauteur des talons de leurs souliers.	Quanto al primo di questi mali, saper dovete, che da più di settanta Lune in qua, trovasi l'Imperio squarciato da due Partiti, sotto i nomi di <i>Tramecksan</i> e di <i>Slamecksan</i> ; nomi, che dalla diversa altezza de' talloni delle scarpe loro, son derivati.

Table 5 Opening sentences of passage three  
in Motte's 1726 edition, the Hague translation and Marsecco's version

Motte, 1726	Gosse & Neualme, 1727	Corona, 1729
The Reader may remember, that when I signed those Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, there were some which I disliked upon account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme Necessity have forced me to submit.	Le Lecteur se souvient peut être que lorsque je signai les Conditions auxquelles ma liberté me fut accordée, il y en avoit, qui ne me plaisoient gueres, parce qu'elles étoient trop humiliantes pour moi.	Rammentasi forte il Leggitore, che allor quando sottoscrissi alle Condizioni, colle quali mi fu accordata la libertà, ve ne avea che troppo non mi gustavano, perchè a mio riguardo erano troppo vili.
But being now a <i>Nardac</i> , of the highest Rank in that Empire, such Offices were looked upon as below my Dignity, and the Emperor (to do him Justice) never once mentioned them to me.	Mais je ne fus plus astreint à celles-ci, dès que j'eus été crée <i>Nardac</i> , & l'Empereur (car il faut lui rendre cette justice) ne m'en a jamais sonné mot.	Ma immediate che creato <i>Nardac</i> , lasciarono d'obbligarmi, e l'Imperadore, (e in questo convien fargli la dovuta giustizia) non me n'ha mai battuto becco.
However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I then thought, a most signal Service.	Cependant j'eus occasion peu de de temps après de rendre à sa Majesté, au moins à ce que je m'imaginai alors, un très signalé service.	Nulladimeno poco tempo dopo mi si presentò l'occasione di rendere a Sua Maestà, a quel che per lo meno m'immaginava, un segnalatissimo servizio.
I was alarmed at Midnight with the Cries of many Hundred People at my Door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of Terror.	Je fus reveillé au milieu de la nuit par les cris d'un nombre infini de personnes, qui repetoient à tout moment le mot de <i>Burghum</i> .	Nel più profondo d'una tal qual notte fui risvegliato da' gridi d'un infinito numero di persone, che ad ogni istante ripetevano il termine <i>Burghum</i> .

Table 6 Opening sentences of passage four  
in Motte's 1726 edition, the Hague translation and Marsecco's version

Marsecco's approach to the source text suggests two things. The fact that the Italian edition matches both the macro- and micro-features of the French source validates Lambert and van Gorp's hypothesis that the results obtained from the analysis of the macro-structure give an indication of the "overall translational strategy" (Lambert and van Gorp, 1985, p.48). Secondly, the proximity between the Hague rendering and Marsecco's translation implies that Italian readers were presented with a version of *Gulliver's Travels* which was very similar to Motte's 1726 princeps edition. Clearly, many Italian readers would not have the background knowledge necessary to grasp all references to the British cultural and social context. However, they certainly had a better idea of Swift's satirical intents than their French counterparts, who, as it has been seen, preferred Desfontaines' heavily adapted translation to the Hague 'faithful' rendition.

Close textual comparison reveals that the reduction in the number of words of the passages in Marsecco's version tends to be due to condensations and omissions imposed by Italian linguistic conventions, whereby, for instance, the French 'je voulus' and 'sur la' are rendered with 'volli' and 'sulla'. Reduction generally involves no more than two words. Only very rarely omission consists of the elimination of clauses. In the table below the parts of the French version highlighted are missing in the Italian translation.

Passage	Motte, 1726	Gosse & Neualme, 1727	Corona, 1729
1	I thought it the most prudent Method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till Night, when my left Hand being already loose, I could easily free myself :	je crus que le meilleur parti <b>que je pouvois prendre</b> étoit de me tenir coy, <b>et mon dessin étoit</b> de rester comme cela jusqu'à la nuit bien sûr que pouvant me servir de la main gauche, je me détacherois alors entièrement:	Credetti miglior partito il restarmene cheto cheto per fin alla notte nella positura medesima; assicurato, che potendo prevalermi della mano manca, interamente allora mi sarei sciolto:
4	because, although I had done a very eminent piece of Service, yet I could not tell how his Majesty might resent the Manner by which I had performed it: For, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Capital in any Person, of what Quality soever, to make water within the Precincts of the Palace.	parce que, nonobstant que je lui eusse rendu un service très signalé, je n'étois pas assuré pourtant qu'il seroit fort content de la manière <b>dont je l'avois rendu</b> : Car, par une Loi fondamentale de l'Empire, c'est un crime capital de faire de l'eau dans l'enceinte du Palais [...]	poiché, non ostante che gli avessi prestato un servizio importantissimo non era io accertato che ei si fosse compiaciuto del modo: essendo che, per Legge fondamentale dell'Impero, è un delitto capitale l'orinare nel recinto del Palagio; [...]

Table 7 Omissions in Marsecco's version

The condensation of the source text often entails syntactic re-elaboration, or the implementation of what I refer to as 'syntactic transposition'. This involves the transformation of a sentence of the source text by means of the addition or elimination of clauses, or the change in the status of a clause, e.g. shift from main clause to subordinate clause and vice versa. Let us compare the French segment of passage one "Je crus que le meilleur parti que je pouvois prendre étoit de me tenir coy, et mon dessin étoit de rester comme cela jusqu'à la nuit" [I believed that the best decision that I could take was to remain quiet and my plan was to remain like that until night] with the Italian segment "credetti miglior partito il restarmene cheto cheto per fin alla notte nella

positura medesima” [I held it best decision the staying quiet until night in the same position]. Marsecco condenses the six clauses of the source text into only one clause. Besides omitting the clauses “que je pouvois prendre” and “et mon dessin étoit”, he replaces ‘que le meilleur parti étoit’, “de me tenir coy” and “de rester comme cela jusqu’à la nuit” with the nominal cluster “miglior partito il restarmene cheto cheto per fin nella notte nella positura medesima”. As a result of these interventions the syntax of the target text is considerably simplified.

Je crus	credetti
que le meilleur parti (étoit)	miglior partito
que je pouvois prendre	
de me tenir coy	il restarmene cheto cheto
et mon dessin étoit	
de rester comme cela jusqu’à la nuit	per fin nella notte nella positura medesima

Table 8 Syntactic transposition in Marsecco’s version

Occasionally, reductions are compensated with amplifications which strengthen, make explicit or clarify the source text expressions. As illustrated in the following examples, the effect produced is never invasive.

Passage	Motte, 1726	Gosse & Neualme, 1727	Corona, 1729
1	a Quiver at his Back.	une <b>trousse de flèches</b> (pouch of arrows) sur le dos	in sulle spalle <b>un carcasso, di saette ripieno</b> (pouch full of arrows)
2	which they all wear girt twice round about the middle	<b>Tous</b> (everyone) s’en parent, en se le mettant autour du corps,	<b>Ognuno de’ vincitori</b> (each of the winners) se ne fregia, a foggia di cintura;
3	commanding all his Subjects, upon great Penaltys, to break the smaller End of their Eggs.	il ordonnoit à tous ses sujets sous de grandes peines, <b>de casser leurs œufs au bout le plus étroit</b> (to break their eggs at the smaller end).	egli commetteva a’ suoi soggetti sotto gravissime pene, <b>di rompere in avvenire le uova loro, dall’estremità più stretta</b> (to break, in the future, their eggs at the smaller end).
4	By the luckiest Chance in the World, I had not discharged myself of any part of it	Par le plus grand de tous les bonheurs, <b>je n’en avois encor rien rendu</b> (I had not yet discharged any of it).	Per la massima delle buone fortune, <b>non aveva io per anche renduta una goccia</b> (I had not yet discharged a single drop of it).

Table 9 Amplification in Marsecco’s version

On one occasion the Italian translation is excessively close to the source with the result that an awkward rendition is produced. In passage one Marsecco translates the clause “j’essayai une décharge plus grande encore quel la première” [I endured a volley even bigger than the former] with “asciugar dovetti un’altra scarica maggiore della prima”. While the French verb ‘essuyer’ corresponds to both ‘to dry’ and ‘to endure’, the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* [Dictionary of the academicians of the *Crusca*] (1729-1738) confirms that in Italian ‘asciugare’ only meant ‘to dry’.

Apart from this little disruption, Marsecco’s actions are generally aimed at making the target text stylistically appealing and at harmonising the translation’s lexical and syntactical components. The many repetitions present in the French source are carefully avoided with the result that the vocabulary in the target text is more varied and refined.

In passage one the most frequently recurring words in the source-text are ‘gauche’ and the verbs ‘faire’ and ‘être’ in their various forms. The adjective ‘gauche’ is repeated six times. In the target text it is rendered with three different words ‘manca’, ‘sinistro’ and ‘mancina’. ‘Faire’ appears four times and is substituted by ‘faticare’, ‘camminare’, ‘regnare’ and ‘gettare’. ‘Être’ is also replaced by four alternatives – ‘riuscire’, ‘starsene’, ‘trovarsi’ and ‘giacere’. In passage two ‘empereur’ is translated with ‘imperadore’, ‘monarca’ and ‘principe’. In passage four ‘palais’ is replaced with ‘regia’ (sic), ‘palazzo’, and ‘palagio’.

Marsecco strategically exploits reordering to make the target text more rhythmically smooth, poetic and higher in register than the French text. Reordering often involves the inversion of the position of subject (or object) and predicate. In passage one, for instance, “l’erbe étoit tendre” [the grass was soft] and “je ne pouvois voir que le Ciel” [I could not see anything but the sky] are rendered with the more melodious “era morbida l’erba” and “null’altro che il Cielo scorgere io poteva”. Similarly, in passage two, “ce qui arrive assez souvent” [which happens quite often] and “*Flimnap* se seroit sûrement cassé la tête” [Flimnap would surely have broken his head] are substituted with “il che non di rado avviene” and “sarebbesi, senza altro, *Flimnap* accoppato”. The same harmonious effect is achieved when through reordering adverbs and adjective are moved in attributive position. In passage three “les talons de Sa Majesté Imperiale” [the heels of his imperial majesty] and “au milieu de ces Divisions intestines” [in the middle of these intestine divisions] are translated with “i talloni di Sua Imperial Maestà” and “nel mezzo di cotali intestine divisioni”. In passage four “j’avois copieusement bu d’un vin délicieux” [I had drunk copiously of a delicious wine] and “ne seroit jamais réparé” [would have never been repaired] are rendered with “la sera avanti aveva io copiosamente bevuto d’un saporitissimo vino” and “in verun tempo non si sarebbe riparato”.

On the basis of what emerged from the analysis of the ‘systemic context’, we may conclude that Marsecco’s translation is characteristic of the literary and translational context in which it was produced. The closeness between Marsecco’s translation and its French source can be read as symptomatic of the trends which characterised the Italian cultural, literary and translational panorama of the period. As mentioned in section 3.2, French was considered the literary language par excellence and close imitation of French models was often encouraged to achieve literary prestige. In this, Italian was favoured by the morphological and syntactical similarities shared by the two languages. As regards translational trends, it has been stressed that, starting from the 1720s, respect



for the sources was increasingly promoted in translation of both classical and modern literary works (see section 3.2). It follows that Marsecco's close rendition could have simply been affected by the translational norms which were in force at that time. Marsecco's visible efforts to create a poetic and harmonious translation might have been driven by the influence of the prestigious position which poetry and the aesthetic parameters set by the Academy of the Arcadia traditionally occupied within the Italian literary polysystem.

### 3.4 The (mis)fortune of *Gulliver's Travels* after Marsecco's translation

Marsecco introduced Swift's work to an Italian audience who would have little or no chance to access the French translations, let alone the English sources. He did so by providing an accurate and elegant rendition which largely preserves the formal and conceptual characteristics of the British standard text of 1726. Besides marking the debut of *Gulliver's Travels* on the Italian literary scene and discrediting the cliché that professional translators were unfit for fine writing, Marsecco's translation is of interest for being the only Italian version of Swift's work in circulation for over a century<sup>45</sup>.

After having been translated in 1729, *Gulliver's Travels* maintained its presence in the Italian literary polysystem by means of more indirect refractions.

In 1731 Sebastiano Coleti, "one of the most important and dynamic Venetian printers" (Gregori, 2005, p.20), published *Il nuovo Gulliver, o sia Viaggio di Giovanni Gulliver figliuolo del capitano Gulliver* [The new Gulliver, or voyage of Giovanni Gulliver, son of captain Gulliver]. The work is presented as an anonymous indirect translation based on a French version of an English manuscript. In actual fact, the *Nuovo Gulliver* was a direct translation from French commonly attributed to the Camaldolite friar and distinguished man of letters Angelo Calogerà (1696-1766) (Graf, 1911, p.265; Ortolani, 1926, p.123; Pagetti, 1971, pp.20-21; Gregori, 2005, p.21). The author of the source was the Abbé Desfontaines, who hoped to surpass the success of his 1727 translation of *Gulliver's Travels* by presenting French readers with an original imitation of Swift's work. A blend of intriguing adventures, romantic exploits and exotic settings, *Le Nouveau Gulliver* (1730) promises to be "un Roman selon les règles" (Desfontaines, 1730, preface) and to provide the excitement which the French readership expected to find in a novel. Despite the success of *Gulliver's Travels* in

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<sup>45</sup> The fact that Marsecco's translation is the only eighteenth-century Italian version of *Gulliver's Travels* clarifies why the study of the Italian trajectory of Swift's work requires the adoption of a time frame that is wider than the one adopted for the analysis of the British editions (see Chapter 4).

France, explains Desfontaines, many readers complained that “that their interest had not been captured by intrigues and complicated situations [...] and they found a series of allegorical voyages, without any amorous adventures” (in Williams, 1970, p.88). His sequel was intended to meet the literary requirements of these readers.

Desfontaines’ expectations were amply satisfied. The first edition was reprinted twice by the end of 1730 (see Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.247; Welcher, 1988, p.138) and in 1731 *Le Nouveau Gulliver* was exported to Italy, Britain, Holland and Germany (Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.247).

It appears that, initially, Desfontaines’ imitation enjoyed a positive reception in Italy. On 22 April and on 19 May 1731 the periodical *Novelle della Repubblica Letteraria* described *Il Nuovo Gulliver* as more agreeable, amusing and moral than the first *Gulliver* (Pagetti, 1971, p.18-19). The fact that Desfontaines’ sequel was translated by a man of letters and not by a professional translator like Marsecco may also account for how differently the two Gullivers were greeted by the Italian literary establishment. Despite the excitement which accompanied its appearance, however, *Il Nuovo Gulliver* received less attention than Swift’s work. While *Gulliver’s Travels* was refracted by derivative productions for all the first half of the eighteenth century, *Il Nuovo Gulliver* quickly moved towards the periphery of the literary polysystem<sup>46</sup>.

The way in which *Il Nuovo Gulliver* performs its refractive function prompts some interesting considerations. Two factors seem to suggest that Desfontaines’ sequel relates to *Gulliver’s Travels* very indirectly. First of all, the relationship between *Il Nuovo Gulliver* and Swift’s work is mediated by another refraction, the French source. Secondly, the Italian translation of the original preface faithfully reports Desfontaines’ claim that his *Gulliver* has very little to do with Swift’s. The Abbé invites his readers not to consider *Le Nouveau Gulliver* as a continuation of *Gulliver’s Travels* for it involves “neither the same voyager, or the same genre of adventure, or the same type of allegory” (1730, my translation)<sup>47</sup>. The distance between Swift’s and Desfontaines’ work, however, is only apparent. The fact that the protagonist of the story is explicitly presented as the son of Captain Lemuel Gulliver and that he, like his father, visits exotic lands inhabited by bizarre creatures, suggests a solid intertextual relationship with Swift’s work. Desfontaines’ claims of originality, together with all the other allusions to *Gulliver’s Travels* contained in the preface, make this relationship even more manifest.

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<sup>46</sup> To my knowledge *Il Nuovo Gulliver* did not inspire any creative imitation, retranslation, or criticism and was never reprinted before 1776. This strongly suggests that Desfontaines’ sequel was not particularly attractive to an Italian readership.

<sup>47</sup> “Ce n’est ni le même Voïageur, ni le même genre d’avantures, ni le même goût d’allegorie”.

While contextualising *Le Nouveau Gulliver*, for example, Desfontaines alludes to the extraordinary success of *Gulliver's Travels* in France and trusts that his readers are familiar with “philosophical and bold ideas of the first Gulliver” (my translation)<sup>48</sup>. He then praises Swift for his artistic skills and for having created one of “the best works which have come to light in a long time” (my translation)<sup>49</sup>. These declarations direct attention to Swift's work and invite us to use it as a term of comparison throughout the reading and the interpretation of both *Le Nouveau Gulliver* and its translation. It is important to remember, however, that French and Italian readers did not share the same perception of *Gulliver's Travels*. As we have seen in section 3.2, in France *Gulliver's Travels* was largely known in the guise of Desfontaines' moral and didactic *belle infidèle*. In Italy, it was read in Marsecco's faithful translation. The two translations received very different responses. In the issue of 4 December 1727 the German periodical *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* reported that the first edition of Desfontaines translation had sold out (p.963; in Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.230) and that 1500 copies were bought within a month (p.976; in Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.230). In June of the same year we know that Desfontaines sent Swift a copy of the second edition of his translation (see section 3.2). According to Herman Teerink and Arthur H. Scouten, different versions of the second edition were printed at short intervals (1964, pp.230-232). In Italy the first reprint of Marsecco's version did not appear until 1749, thus suggesting that the first edition was not a bestseller. By presenting *Gulliver's Travels* as a successful and fine work of literature, Desfontaines' preface to *Il Nuovo Gulliver* provided Italian readers with an image of Swift's work which was fundamentally different from that established by the reception of Marsecco's translation. It follows that not only did *Il Nuovo Gulliver* call attention to Swift's work, but it also made it stand out from the stream of prose works with which it first arrived in Italy.

After *Il Nuovo Gulliver*, the presence of Swift's work in the Italian literary polysystem was manifested, for the most part, through the influence which it exerted on domestic literature and criticism. In 1737 Francesco Algarotti published *Il Newtonianismo per le Dame; ovvero, Dialoghi sopra la luce e i colori* [Newtonianism for ladies; or dialogues on light and colours] which draws on “Gulliverian episodes, characters, and [...] principles” (Welcher, 1988, p.179) to explain Newton's principles of optics. 1738 saw the appearance of *Parere intorno a' Viaggi de' due Gulliver Inglesi*

<sup>48</sup> “les idées philosophiques & hardies du premier *Gulliver*”.

<sup>49</sup> “[...]au rang des meilleurs Ouvrages qui eussent paru depuis long-tems”.



*per alcune Isole per l'addietro non conosciute dalla Geografia del Mondo Nuovo* [opinion on the travels of the two English Gullivers in some islands beforehand unknown in the geography of the New World], which is generally regarded as the earliest Italian critical study on *Gulliver's Travels* (Pagetti, 1971, p.28; Gregori, 2005, p.22). In this epistolary essay, the theologian Father Elia D'Amato argues for the authenticity of places, characters and events mentioned in both Swift's and Desfontaines' *Gulliver*. His theory is supported by curious parallels with sources which range from the reports of well known geographers and travellers to the works of classical authors and the Holy Scriptures (see Pagetti, 1971, pp.23-28; Gregori, 2005, pp.22-24).

Gulliver's voyage to Laputa (Part III) inspired the anonymous *Lezione su d'un Vitello a due Teste Dell'Accademico delle Scienze, colle Note di Lemuel Gulliver* [lesson on a two-headed calf of the Accademico delle Scienze, with notes by Lemuel Gulliver]. Published in 1745, this satirical treatise ridicules the improbable study conducted by Doctor Michelangelo Ruberti, whereby the physician is likened to the eccentric and lunatic scientists of the Academy of Lagado (see Welcher, 1988, p.207).

The work which was most extensively modelled on *Gulliver's Travels* is Zaccaria Seriman's *Viaggj di Enrico Wanton alle Terre incognite australi, ed al Paese delle Scimie* (sic) [The Travels of Henry Wanton to the undiscovered Austral regions and the Kingdom of the Apes]. A pseudo-translation from English published in 1749, this philosophical novel imitates *Gulliver's Travels* on many levels. Seriman exploits the voyages of a fictitious British traveller to ridicule and condemn the frivolity and the impudence of contemporary Venetian society as well as to exhibit the imperfect nature of mankind. The Kingdom of the Apes stands for Venice in the same way as Lilliput stands for England; the Cynocephali, like the Brobdingnagians, have strengths and weaknesses proper to the human condition. Among the other satirical targets shared by Seriman and Swift are eighteenth-century scientific institutions. The inhabitants of Fortezza de' Venti in the Kingdom of the Cynocephali unequivocally recall the Laputians and the scientists met by Gulliver in the Academy of Lagado (see Pagetti, 1971, pp.82-91).

The intertextual relationships that these critical and imitative productions established with Swift's work are likely to have played a primary role in stimulating reprints of Marsecco's translation. The first, as already mentioned, appeared in 1749; the second

was published in 1775<sup>50</sup>. After 1776, the year which saw the publication of the first reprint of *Il Nuovo Gulliver*, the visibility of *Gulliver's Travels* on the Italian literary scene depended exclusively on its sporadic association with Swift, whose fame as a prominent Anglo-Irish writer was progressively gaining ground in Italy. The fact that the physical presence of *Gulliver's Travels* became less apparent and that the work ceased to inspire refractive creations and to influence domestic writing, can be interpreted as an indication that its position in the literary polysystem was becoming more and more peripheral. This situation remained unvaried until 1839, when the presence of *Gulliver's Travels* on the Italian literary scene started to become more manifest. The appearance of a free adaptation in that year, followed by the publication of two new translations in 1840, suggests that Swift's work had become the object of new attention and that it had begun to gain positions closer to the centre of the literary polysystem.

The reasons for the instability of *Gulliver's Travels* on the Italian literary scene become clearer as we approach the analysis of the historical, social, literary and cultural context.

### 3.5 The fluctuating course of *Gulliver's Travels*: a polysystemic explanation

The entrance of *Gulliver's Travels* in the Italian literary polysystem, as we have seen, came as a consequence of Italy's infatuation with French cultural and literary models. This infatuation, which grew as the eighteenth century progressed, is likely to have affected the Italian reception of Swift's work even after the publication of Marsecco's translation. Let us examine the arguments which support this speculation. We have previously established that, in France, *Le Nouveau Gulliver* was inspired by the extraordinary success of Desfontaines' translation of Swift's work. Since Marsecco's rendering of *Gulliver's Travels* appears not to have produced the same effect on Italian readers, we might assume that the translation of Desfontaines' sequel was also prompted by the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* in France. This suggests that France's increasing interest in Swift and in his works might have had direct repercussions on the life of *Gulliver's Travels* within the Italian literary polysystem.

In France *Gulliver's Travels* had attracted the attention of many French intellectuals and men of letters. Wilhelm Graeber (2005, p.15) hazards that Marivaux wrote *L'Ile de la Raison, ou les Petits Hommes* (1727) under the direct influence of Desfontaines'

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<sup>50</sup> The 1749 reprint was published in Venice by Giovanni Tavernin; that of 1775 was published in Naples by Giacomo and Antonio Vernaccia.

translation of 1727. He also identifies parallels with later works, especially with Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1752). Voltaire was one of France's most fervent anglophiles (Graeber, 2005, p.15). He read *Gulliver's Travels* immediately after its appearance in England and urged his friend Nicolas-Claude Thieriot to translate it into French (see Williams, 1970, pp.73-74). Voltaire was a fervent admirer of Swift (Williams, 1970 p.73; Graeber, 2005, p.5) and defined him as "Rabelais perfected" (in Williams, 1970, p.75) for "he wrote in his own language with much more purity and delicacy than the author of *Gargantua* did in his" (in Williams, 1970, p.76). The notoriety of *Gulliver's Travels* in France called attention to Swift's other works, especially to *A Tale of a Tub* (1704a). Despite circulating in two translations since 1721, this became widely read only after the success of Desfontaines' translation (Graeber, 2005, p.10).

Devout venerators of French literary and cultural models and enthusiastic followers of Voltaire (see Graf, 1911, pp.15-16; Pagetti, 1971, pp.13-14), Italian men of letters would hardly fail to notice that *Gulliver's Travels* and Swift were gaining an increasingly central position in the French literary polysystem. It is possible that, following the example set by the French, they also began to see *Gulliver's Travels* as a work of significant literary value written by one of the most influential contemporary Anglo-Irish authors. The refractions of *Gulliver's Travels* produced by D'Amato, Algarotti and Seriman could be interpreted as an indication of the spread of this perception within the Italian literary polysystem. Italy's growing interest in Swift and the increasingly frequent association of his name with *Gulliver's Travels* after 1740 (see Pagetti, 1971, pp.27-29; Gregori, 2005, p.24) might also have been prompted by Swift's popularity in France.

In the 1760s Italy's gradual familiarisation with Swift became less mediated through the praises of French men of letters and more dependent on direct British influence. As we have previously seen, in the 1720s an attraction to British literature and culture had started to develop under the effect of France's anglomania (see section 3.1). In the second half of the eighteenth century Italy's interest in British cultural and literary life became more marked (Graf, 1911, pp.221-249). The number of British authors whose works were directly translated into Italian grew. The records in the Italian national library catalogue (OPAC SBN) suggest that Addison, Pope, Milton, William Shakespeare, Richardson and Henry Fielding were particularly appreciated. Great consideration was paid to British journals, which were often praised for their plain style and the straightforwardness with which they addressed their audiences. Inspired by publications like *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, Italian intellectuals began to use the

periodical press as an effective vehicle for reaching and instructing as large a readership as possible. They hoped that the broad circulation of information would encourage the rise of public opinion and stimulate constructive debate on relevant social issues, thus creating the ideal conditions to achieve “fairer social organisation and [...] a better life for all” (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.371). It is mainly in connection with English journalism that Swift became a name in Italy<sup>51</sup>. Gasparo Gozzi (1713-1786), the brothers Pietro and Alessandro Verri (1728-1797 and 1741-1816) and Giuseppe Baretti (1719-1789), the editors of the major eighteenth-century Italian periodicals, considered him one of the masters of English journalism together with Steele and Addison<sup>52</sup>. In the first issue of *Il Caffè* [the coffeehouse], published in June 1764, Pietro Verri stated that the objective of the journal was to do the country “as much good as we can, providing our fellow countrymen with useful instructions and amus[e] them at the same time, as elsewhere did Steele, Swift, Addison, Pope and others” (in Gregori, 2005, p.28). In May 1768 Gozzi launched *Il Sognatore Italiano* [the Italian dreamer] with an invitation to his readers to “supply [him] spontaneously with the fodder as in past times the readership supplied Addison, Swift, Steele and the other gazette writers, in whose tracks [he] wante[ed] to follow” (in Gregori, 2005, pp.28-29).

As Swift was earning a reputation as a skillful journalist, an interest began to be taken in his personal life. 1768 saw the publication of a volume containing two biographical essays translated by the academician Francesco Vanneschi. The first essay is a faithful translation (Pagetti, 1971, p.63) of the biography which Hawkesworth included in *The Works of Jonathan Swift* in 1755 (see Chapter 2, section 2.1). The second is a dissertation written by the Irish clergyman Thomas Barry as a supplement to Hawkesworth’s biography (Gregori, 2005, p.31). Barry describes Swift as “one of the most biting satirists of his age [...] who preferred being harsh and useful (as physicians are) to being elegant and pleasing, and that a vein of ironic humour ran through his works” (1768, pp.85-85, also in Gregori, 2005, p.31).

The fact that the only biography of Swift available in eighteenth-century Italy carried Hawkesworth’s perspective is significant. As we have seen, like Deane Swift, Thomas

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<sup>51</sup> Swift collaborated with the three most influential British journals of his time, *The Tatler* (1709-1711), *The Examiner* (1710-1714) and *The Spectator* (1711-1712), and also with the Irish periodical *The Intelligencer* (1728-1729). His appointment as chief editor of the Tory journal *The Examiner* in 1710, in particular, is said to have earned him the reputation of “one of the most powerful journalists in England” (McMinn, 2003, p.21).

<sup>52</sup> Gasparo Gozzi published *La Gazzetta Veneta* (February 1760 - January 1761), *L’Osservatore Veneto* (February 1761 - January 1762) and *Il Sognatore Italiano* (May - September 1768); Pietro and Alessandro Verri were editors of *Il Caffè* (June 1764 - May 1766); Giuseppe Baretti was the author of *La Frusta Letteraria*, known for bitter sarcasm and colourful tones.

Sheridan and Patrick Delaney, Hawkesworth provided a representation of Swift's character which diverged from the dominant and defamatory interpretation promoted by Orrery's *Remarks* (1752). Unlike Orrery, who depicted Swift as an erratic and cruel misanthrope (Chapter Two, section 2.1), Hawkesworth exposed the human side of Swift's personality. Italy's indifference to the popularity of Orrery's views in Britain and in France (see Pagetti, 1971, p.63) suggests that Italian perception of Swift was no longer completely dependent on imported criticism.

Discussion of Swift's personal life was intertwined with and often inextricable from discussion of Swift's professional life. It follows that different perceptions of Swift led to different perceptions of his works, including *Gulliver's Travels*. In Britain and in France, due to the wide circulation and acceptance of Orrery's views, the work was commonly branded as offensive and indecent. In Italy, on the other hand, the adoption of Hawkesworth's perspective was reflected in a view of *Gulliver's Travels* as a pleasant and entertaining book. The Mantuan academician Matteo Borsa (1751-1798) described *Gulliver's Travels* as one of the many "libri deliziosi" [delightful books] produced in England (1784, p.74, in Pagetti, 1971, p.71). On the same occasion, Borsa also commended Swift for his "vague and bright imagination, [...] pure and gentle style" and "finest and most delicate taste" (in Pagetti, 1971, p.71, my translation)<sup>53</sup>. Similar remarks were made by Melchiorre Cesarotti (1730-1808) in the introduction to his 1795 version of the *Iliad*. Here, Cesarotti praises the "ironicissimo Swift" [the extremely ironical Swift] for his original representation of the dispute between moderns and ancients in *The Battle of the Books* (1704), of which he translates one short passage<sup>54</sup>.

Swift's causticity and outspokenness did not go unnoticed by Italian men of letters. Baretti admitted that "part of Swift's imagination was always soiled with dung" (1764, p.226, in Pagetti, 1971, p.48, my translation)<sup>55</sup>. Alessandro Verri and the essayist Giuseppe Pelli described Swift's temper respectively as "cattivo" [bad] (1768, in Pagetti, 1971, p.55) and "strano" [strange] (1770, in Pagetti, 1971, p.67), thus indirectly recalling Orrery's 'psychobiographical critique' (see Chapter Two, section 2.1). In 1781 Giovanni Andres condemned the "low images and coarse expressions" which permeate his works (1829, p.52, Tome II, in Pagetti, 1971, p.40, my translation)<sup>56</sup>. The fundamental difference which distinguished Italian from British and French criticism is

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<sup>53</sup> "[colla] fantasia più vaga e ridente, [collo] stile il più puro e gentile, e [col] senso il più fino, e delicato".

<sup>54</sup> *The Battle of the Books* was published for the first time as part of *A Tale of a Tub* (1704)

<sup>55</sup> "Swift aveva un lato della fantasia imbrattato sempre di sterco".

<sup>56</sup> "certe immagini basse ed espressioni volgari"

that, in Italy, those who criticised Swift for his aggressiveness and directness were also great admirers of his. Baretti and Verri, as we have seen, often praised Swift for his journalistic skills. In his *Nuovi dialoghi italiani de' morti* [new Italian dialogues of the dead] (1770), Pelli puts Swift among the greatest personalities of all epochs. Andres celebrated “the famous Swift” for his “amusing imagination” (in Pagetti, 1971, p.40, my translation)<sup>57</sup>. Another difference is that Italian criticism was far from being as aggressive and defamatory as the accusations moved by Orrery and his followers. Even when detected, the bitterness of Swift’s humour was understood as useful and humorous rather than harmful and offensive. Both Algarotti (1752) and Borsa (1784, pp.74-75), for instance, indicated Swift’s causticity as a possible remedy to the stagnation and mediocrity of Italian culture and literature (in Pagetti, 1971, pp.33, 69, 116).

The non-popularity of Orrery’s *Remarks* in Italy might not be the only plausible explanation of why Italian men of letters viewed Swift and *Gulliver’s Travels* differently than their British and French counterparts. The fact that the concept of satire, as Swift understood it, was unknown in the Italian literary polysystem (Pagetti, 1971, p.74), might also have been a significant contributing factor. The works by Giuseppe Parini (1722-1799) and Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), the greatest Italian satirists of the time, give a good idea of why, as Pagetti puts it, Swift’s satire could not be fully understood in the Italian context (1971, p.74).

Like Swift, Parini and Alfieri criticised the vices and the idleness of their contemporaries by exposing them to ridicule. However, rather than addressing specific targets with plain and blunt language, they provided collective caricatures using harmonious and elevated linguistic forms reminiscent of the style of classical authors or of Dante and Petrarch (see Brand and Pertile, 1996, pp.381-382; Pagetti, 1971, p.74). In *Il Giorno* [the day] (1773), for instance, Parini mocks the idle aristocracy by describing the typical day of a young Milanese nobleman. The satirical effect is achieved through the use of the blank verse, normally associated with heroic poems, to transform the “silly and effeminate” rituals which punctuate the gentleman’s day into “sublime enterprises” (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.382).

The fact that Swift did not embody the Italian ideal of satirist and *Gulliver’s Travels* that of satire, encouraged their association with a different literary genre. Accordingly, Swift came to be categorised as a humorist and *Gulliver’s Travels* as a humorous work.

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<sup>57</sup> “Un genio più singolare, ed uno scrittore più originale fu il famoso *Gionata Swift*, autore di tanti piacevoli componimenti in verso ed in prosa, che provano la fecondità della sua amenissima immaginazione”.

In other words, a process of domestication took place which made Swift and his work acceptable to Italian standards, thus favouring their establishment in the literary polysystem. The impact of Swift and of *Gulliver's Travels*, however, was not strong enough to make it possible for them to assume a central position. Swift was obscured by other eighteenth-century personalities, in particular by Addison, Pope, Voltaire and Montesquieu (Pagetti, 1971, pp.73-74). As for *Gulliver's Travels*, it only attracted the attention of a restricted group of anglophiles.

If in the second half of the eighteenth century Swift and *Gulliver's Travels* were not particularly influential, throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century their position in the Italian literary polysystem became decidedly peripheral. Lack of reprints, translations and imitative refractions of *Gulliver's Travels* was accompanied by lack of critical interest in Swift. This progressive marginalisation can be interpreted as one of the many indirect repercussions of the social and cultural changes which occurred in Europe at the close of the eighteenth century.

The French massacres of 1792 and the Terror of 1793-1794 led to a loss of faith in the principles of Enlightenment, which came to be perceived as one of the main causes of the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789 (Duggan, 1994, p.89). The rejection of the models which dominated eighteenth-century cultural life plunged Europe into a state of general pessimism and disorientation. In Italy the crisis was aggravated by the political and economical instability induced by the diplomatic games of France and Austria. In 1796 and in 1800 Napoleon led two military campaigns which resulted in the conquest of Austria's Italian territories and in the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1805. French domination lasted until 1814, when Austria regained the lost territories and restored the deposed rulers (Duggan, 1994, p.100).

As happened at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Italy was suffering the consequences of the War of the Spanish Succession, certainties and stability were sought in models from both the classical tradition and the contemporary European systems. In the literary context, the debate of possible solutions was dominated by the (Neo)Classicists, the Pre-Romantics and, later, by the Romantics.

Central in the philosophy of both Classicists and Romantics was the conviction that discussion of contemporary problems would stimulate the regeneration of society. The Classicists pursued this objective through the use of mythological images and traditional poetic language. The Romantics pushed for "experimentation and innovation which included embracing some of the ideas and techniques found in contemporary foreign literatures" (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.402).

In a pre-industrial age in which middle and working classes were gaining increasing social weight, classical mythological images and poetical modes came to coexist with themes and literary forms better suited for a wide and differentiated public. A general consensus emerged that literature should turn directly to the real world and to human society (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.420). Authors were called to fulfil their new social role to educate and entertain the new readerships which were slowly though steadily emerging (Palazzolo, 1997, p.12) as a result of an increasingly efficient education system<sup>58</sup>.

The form which was deemed most suitable to fulfil the new function of literature was prose and, specifically, the novel. Eventually, the traditional perception of novels as corrupting and vulgar diversions was overturned and replaced by the Romantic view of novels as powerful didactic, ideologising and moralising tools. What the literate and semi-literate working-class readers needed, was, claimed Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) and many men of letters of his generation,

books telling them they could improve their condition within the existing social system by listening to the advice of their betters, working hard, saving and staying away from political trouble; where all this failed they could count on Providence and Christian charity (in Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.433).

The elevation of the status of the novel in Italy went hand in hand with growing admiration for foreign contemporary novelists and with the increasing number of translations of their works. Now that France no longer exercised its cultural hegemony over Europe, attention was primarily directed to British authors, the first to realise the potential of the novel as both a literary form and a tool of social analysis and criticism.

The presence of British novels in the Italian literary polysystem started to become noticeable in the second half of the eighteenth century, when Italian readers became acquainted with the works of Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding<sup>59</sup>. In the

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<sup>58</sup> It should be noted that both the French and the Austrian rulers actively supported the regeneration of Italian cultural life and introduced many reforms aimed at improving Italy's precarious schooling conditions. In Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy, education was made compulsory (see Palazzolo, 1997, p.12; Mascilli Migliorini, 1997, p.85), while during the restoration of the Austrian rule the schooling system was reorganised into three stages – 'scuola elementare', 'scuola media' and 'scuola superiore' (Santoro, 1994, p.226).

<sup>59</sup> The first version of Richardson's *Pamela* (1741) was published in between 1744 and 1745 and reprinted in 1749. Another edition appeared in 1756. Two editions of *Clarissa* (1748) were issued respectively between 1783 and 1789 and between 1784 and 1795, and a translation of *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (1753) was issued between 1784 and 1789. The success of *Pamela* inspired the theatrical adaptations staged by the dramatists Carlo Godoni, Pietro Chiari and Francesco Cerlone. As regards Fielding, a translation from French of *The History of Tom Jones* (1749) was published between 1756 and 1757. The first translation from English seems to have appeared in 1789. Two versions of *Amelia* (1752) were issued in 1782 and between 1788 and 1789. *A Journey from this World to the Next*,



nineteenth century Laurence Sterne and Sir Walter Scott became the most appreciated British authors. Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768) started to circulate in a translation from French in 1792. It became very popular thanks to Ugo Foscolo's version from English of 1813, which was regularly reprinted throughout the rest of the century. Walter Scott owes his remarkable success in Italy primarily to Gaetano Barbieri, who, according to my records, translated twenty of his works. The translations, published in the period between 1821 and 1842, were all reprinted several times.

As in the period of crisis which followed the War of the Spanish Succession, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, translations played a primary role in the renovation of the Italian literary polysystem. If in the 1720s they contributed to Italy's familiarisation with France's avant-garde cultural and literary models, they now introduced new paradigms better suited to the historical and social reality of the nineteenth century. I would like to take these considerations a step further by pointing out that translations played a crucial part in determining the trajectory of single authors and literary works. Swift and *Gulliver's Travels* were no exception. In the 1720s the increase of translations promoted by the openness towards the models of Northern Europe determined their entrance in the Italian literary polysystem. In the nineteenth century translations directed the attention to contemporary models such as Sterne and Scott. Their success contributed to the marginalisation of those authors and works which, like Swift and *Gulliver's Travels*, failed to make a palpable impact on Italian literary culture. However, while on the one hand the outburst of nineteenth-century translations contributed to the marginalisation of Swift and his work, on the other hand it created the conditions for which *Gulliver's Travels* regained visibility in the 1840s.

The increasingly conspicuous presence of translations and of the refractions which they inspired, together with the plea of the Romantics for the democratisation of literature, gave a significant boost to the expansion of the publishing industry. According to Marco Santoro, between 1820 and 1840 book production increased by seventy percent (1994, p.289). Such a leap was due to technological progress which made "printed matter available more cheaply to a wider readership" (Brand and Pertile, 1996, p.407), thus creating the ideal conditions for the development of a mass market (Infelise, 1997, p.56). The leading publishing houses were established in Turin and Milan. Here, publishers, editors and booksellers searched for possible ways of meeting

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originally included in volume two of the *Miscellanies* (1743) was also known for two editions published in 1780 and 1788.

the demands of a public of readers with different tastes, needs and financial means. The most successful move consisted of the development of book series or *biblioteche*, namely “collections of works similar in content or addressing the same target audience” (Palazzolo, 1997, p.24, my translation)<sup>60</sup>. These series, explains Mario Infelise (1997, pp.57-58), were normally issued periodically in attractive little volumes and sold by subscription at affordable prices<sup>61</sup>.

The *biblioteche* largely contributed to the popularity and to the popularisation of the works of many classical and modern Italian and foreign authors<sup>62</sup>. It is likely that, in their aim to familiarise the Italian readership with influential past and contemporary literary works, they might have indirectly stimulated the question of what texts deserved to be included in the literary canon of the period. This might have recalled attention to the centrality of *Gulliver's Travels* in the eighteenth-century British (and French) literary polysystem, thus reawakening an interest in it. My hypothesis converges with Gillespie's theory on the influence of translations on the shaping of the native canon. As mentioned in Chapter One (section 1.2), Gillespie believes that besides enacting the reassessment of their sources, translations encourage the revaluation of other literary works to which they are more or less directly related. Therefore, we cannot reject the notion that the translations of eighteenth-century British and French works selected for inclusion in the *biblioteche* might have played a primary role in arousing a new interest in *Gulliver's Travels*.

The first signs of this renewed interest appeared in *Bibliografia Italiana*, the catalogue which Giacomo Stella published from 1835 with the twofold aim of

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<sup>60</sup> “raccolte di opera affini, per contenuto o per la porzione di pubblico cui si rivolgono”.

<sup>61</sup> Among the first publishers to launch the biblioteche was the Turinese Giuseppe Pomba, who, between 1828 and 1832 issued the *Biblioteca popolare* [popular library]. The series included Italian, Latin and Greek classics especially selected for the emerging public of working-class readers and students (see Palazzolo, 1997, p.19; Balduino 1990 p.528). In Milan Giovanni Silvestri published the '*Biblioteca scelta di opere italiane antiche e moderne* [prime library of ancient and modern Italian works] (1817- 1855), and Nicolò Brettoni issued the *Biblioteca portatile latina, italiana e francese* [portable library of Latin, Italian and French works] (1820-1825), the *Biblioteca universale* [universal library] (1825-1834) and the *Libreria economica* [low-cost library] (1828-1832). Aimed at a more affluent readership was the *Biblioteca enciclopedica* [encyclopedic library] published by Antonio Fortunato Stella. This project, explains Balduino (1990, p.529), consisted of a collection of one thousand volumes which gathered the most representative works in the field of science and classical and modern literatures. The collection included works by Italian and foreign authors. From 1821 Giovanni Pirota issued the *Biblioteca amena ed istruttiva per le donne gentili* [pleasant and educational library for graceful women] which, as the title suggests, was especially designed for the instruction and the entertainment of women.

<sup>62</sup> Among the most admired classical authors were Homer, Cicero, Virgil and Horace for the Greek and Latin tradition and Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, Machiavelli and Tasso. As regards modern authors, Carlo Goldoni, Vittorio Alfieri, Giuseppe Parini and Carlo Gozzi were the most representative of the eighteenth century; Monti, Manzoni, Foscolo and Silvio Pellico (1789-1854) of the contemporaries (Santoro, 1994, p.291, see also Palazzolo, 1997, p.26). Sir Walter Scott, Victor Hugo, Eugène Sue and Ann Radcliffe were the best known foreign authors (Santoro, 1994, p.292, Palazzolo, 1997, p.26).

advertising recent publications and of discouraging piracy (see Palazzolo, 1997, p.43). The issue of December 1838 announced the publication of *Çenéassaimanon al paese degli Houyhnnimi* (p.303).

2972. ÇENÉASSAIMANON AL PAESE DEGLI HOUYHNIMI. - Milano, tip. Malatesta di C. Tinelli. — In-18, di pag. 144, 4 intagli compreso quello del frontispizio, e giornale pel 1839. Infima legatura . . . . . 2. 17  
Intendasi libera versione di alcuni capitoli del « Viaggio del capitano L. Gulliver » di Swift.

Fig.10 Announcement of *Çenéassaimanon al paese degli Houyhnnimi*, in *Bibliografia Italiana*, Dec. 1838, p.303

The work, of which no copy seems to have survived, is presented as a “free version of some chapters of Swift’s *Viaggio del Capitano L. Gulliver* by Swift”. Almost two years later, in October 1840, *Bibliografia Italiana* listed two Milanese editions of *Viaggi di Gulliver* (p.278), thus indicating that Marsecco’s translation and its reprints were no longer the only manifestations of the physical presence of *Gulliver’s Travels* in the Italian literary polysystem. The first edition was published by Borroni and Scotti, the second by Stella.

2597. VIAGGI DI GULLIVER, narrati da G. Swift. Prima versione italiana del d. L. M. - Milano, presso Borroni e Scotti, 1840. — In-12, di pag. xii-348 e 2 intagli compreso il frontispizio . . . . . 3. —  
D. L. M. intendasi «dottor Luigi Masieri. Precedono alcuni cenni intorno la vita e le opere del decano G. Swift tratti da sir Walter Scott.

Fig.11 Announcement of Borroni and Scotti’s edition of *Viaggi di Gulliver*, Oct. 1840, p.278

2598. VIAGGI DI GULLIVER, per G. Swift. Versione dall’inglese di Gaetano Barbieri. - Milano, Vedova di A. F. Stella e Giacomo figlio, 1840. — Dispensa I, II, III, IV e V-VI. In-8. Ogni dispensa semplice di pag. 8 — 30  
Ogni settimana uscirà una dispensa di 8 pag. in-8 massimo che costerà 30 cent. ital., e il doppio se doppia. In totale le dispense saranno circa 70, adorne di 400 intagli in politipia sui disegni del signor Grandville.  
Sinora senza frontispizio.

Fig.12 Announcement of Stella’s edition of *Viaggi di Gulliver*, Oct. 1840, p.278

The information contained in the two announcements, in particular the indication of the names of publishers and translators and of the price, makes it possible to make some important considerations on the status of *Gulliver’s Travels* in 1840.

Research across CLIO (Catalogo dei Libri Italiani dell’Ottocento – catalogue of nineteenth-century Italian books) and OPAC SBN revealed that Borroni and Scotti and Stella published books intended for middle-class readers. The majority of the publications of Borroni and Scotti recorded in the two databases are clearly intended for students, artisans, lawyers, clerical workers, doctors, engineers and civil servants. The publications included manuals, textbooks, educational, religious and moralising works,

histories, dictionaries, drama, tales, and novels, mainly translations of French authors<sup>63</sup>. Stella was one of the leading publishing houses in Milan. Its founder, Antonio Fortunato Stella, was known as a highly esteemed bookseller, a trusted reference for many influential intellectuals including Alessandro Manzoni, Vincenzo Monti and Giacomo Leopardi and publisher “of volumes of every branch of knowledge” (Ottino 1875, p.11, in Marchetti, 1997, p.118, my translation)<sup>64</sup>. A glance at the various issues of *Bibliografia Italiana* suffices to confirm that the business of the publishing house remained prosperous even after Antonio Fortunato’s death in 1833, when his son Giacomo succeeded him. Stella constantly proposed a varied assortment of books which was not unlike that offered by Borroni and Scotti in terms of both content and target readership.

The announcements indicate that the translations were carried out respectively by “dottor Luigi Masieri” and by Gaetano Barbieri. A search across OPAC SBN revealed that Luigi Masieri, the translator of Borroni and Scotti’s edition, worked as an editor and as a professional translator for different publishers mainly based in Milan<sup>65</sup>. He translated primarily French works, including various novels by Stendhal, Balzac, Hugo, Eugène Sue and Dumas père and fils. The name of Masieri is often accompanied by the titles ‘doctor in physics’, ‘doctor in maths’ and ‘engineer’, hence the assumption that he was an educated middle-class man. The translator of Stella’s edition, Gaetano Barbieri, was a cultured man whose circle of friends included influential personalities such as Alessandro Manzoni (Sforza, 1905, pp.xvi-xvii). Besides teaching geometry and algebra in a Mantuan secondary school, he owned and directed the Milanese journal *I Teatri* [the theatres] (1727-1731) and wrote for three periodicals published by Fortunato Stella, *Il Nuovo Ricoglitore* [new collector] (1825-1833), *Il Ricoglitore italiano e straniero* (1834-1837) [Italian and foreign collector] and *Rivista europea* [European magazine] (1838-1847) (Sforza, 1905, p.xvii). He was a dramatist, a librettist and, above all, an extremely prolific translator of English, French and German works. The period from 1820 to 1850 saw the publication of seventy translations attributable to Barbieri. These included novels, comedies, tragedies and histories. In addition to having translated twenty of Sir Walter Scott’s novels, as mentioned, Barbieri familiarised the Italian

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<sup>63</sup> Some of Borroni and Scotti’s products like short tales and the lives of saints and of historical and military heroes would potentially appeal to popular audiences. However, the cost of the books, which rarely was lower than one lira (see entries in *Bibliografia Italiana*), was likely to discourage readers of this category from buying them.

<sup>64</sup> “editor[e] [...] di milioni di volumi di ogni ramo del sapere”.

<sup>65</sup> These included Borroni and Scotti, G. Truffi, F. Pagnoni, Pirrotta, Bravetta, Bonfanti, Perelli & Mariani, G. Reina, P. M. Visaj, Lombardi, Bettoni, Barbini.

reading public with works of Shakespeare, Defoe, Delavigne, Goethe, Dumas and Hugo.

The prices at which the two editions were sold confirm that they were addressed primarily to a middle-class readership<sup>66</sup>. Borroni and Scotti's edition was sold at 3 Italian lire. Stella's edition was sold in issues of eight or sixteen pages each at the cost of respectively 0.30 and 0.60 lire. In May 1842 *Bibliografia Italiana* announced that the issues were bound together and sold in a single volume at the price of 14.10 Italian lire (p.130). The difference in price is presumably due to the fact that Stella's edition is extensively illustrated.

The profiles of the publishers, of the translators and of the intended readership of the two 1840 editions suggest that the perception of Swift's work had considerably changed since the appearance of Marsecco's version. We have seen that *Gulliver's Travels* was at first taken as second-rate work destined to be read by a public with low literary aspirations. In 1840, when prose fiction had become widely accepted and Swift's popularity had increased, it had come to be regarded as a work of high literary merit dedicated for the entertainment and the acculturation of the rapidly growing middle class. The perception of *Gulliver's Travels* as a prestigious literary work was not a nineteenth-century invention. As already observed, this view was initially promoted in Italy by Desfontaines' preface to *Il Nuovo Gulliver* and then corroborated by criticism throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. However, while in the eighteenth century the canonical potential of *Gulliver's Travels* was recognised only by a few men of letters, in 1840 it had become widely accepted. Readers of the 1840 translations were informed of Swift's mastery and of the literary relevance of *Gulliver's Travels* by no less an authoritative and credible critic than Sir Walter Scott, who, as already mentioned, was very well known to the Italian reading public. Both the Milanese publishers introduced their versions with the biography which Scott prefaced to his 1814 fourteen-volume collection of Swift's works. Borroni and Scotti propose a version of Scott's commentary which is much shorter than the one contained in Stella's edition. However, they further emphasise the prestigious status of *Gulliver's Travels* in the brief "editors' preface". Here, Swift is presented as an author admired throughout Europe and his work as an enjoyable alternative for those readers who are tired of "tears and sighs,

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<sup>66</sup> Publications addressed to a universal readership were considerably cheaper. The one hundred volumes of Pomba's *Biblioteca Popolare* (see footnote 60), for instance, were sold at 0.50 Italian lire each. The books were in 32mo (approximately 3.5 by 5.5 inches) and comprised a number of pages which varied between one hundred and fifty and two hundred. The volumes of *Libreria Popolare* (1830), which contained more pages (about three hundred), were bigger (in 12mo), and illustrated, were sold at 1.50 Italian lire, half the price of Borroni and Scotti's volume.

graveyards, daggers, sentences of death, unleashed passions and obscenities” (my translation)<sup>67</sup>.

Despite presenting many similarities, the 1840 translations are also fundamentally different. The text in Borroni and Scotti’s edition is a close rendition of Desfontaines’ 1727 *belle infidèle*. The translation published by Stella, on the other hand, is the first Italian version to draw on English sources. While Borroni and Scotti perpetuate the aspect and the significance which *Gulliver’s Travels* assumed in eighteenth-century France, Stella’s edition represents an important step forward in the Italian publication and reception history of Swift’s work. Stella provides his readers not only with a brand new translation, but also with an appealing version of *Gulliver’s Travels* in which the verbal component harmoniously blends with the pictorial apparatus in accordance with the tradition of illustrated books flourishing in nineteenth-century Western Europe (Behrendt, 1997, p.35; Yousif, 2012, p.1). The drawings which illustrate Stella’s edition are from the hand of J. J. Grandville, one of the most influential and sought after French political caricaturists and book illustrators of the time. The illustrations were originally commissioned for and published in Fournier and Furne’s Parisian edition of 1838. In 1840, while Stella’s edition was being gradually released in weekly instalments, Grandville’s drawings were reproduced in the British edition of *Gulliver’s Travels* prepared by the Irish writer and journalist William Cooke Taylor (1800-1849). Two of the vignettes were used by Borroni and Scotti to illustrate respectively the frontispiece and the title page.

Since the text published by Borroni and Scotti is a close reproduction of Desfontaines’ already discussed translation, analysis will be restricted to Stella’s edition. The fact that this is copiously illustrated makes it an even more attractive object of study. It is my intention, while closely examining Stella’s edition, to find out how Barbieri approached the production of a translation in which the verbal and the visual components are so inextricably intertwined with each other. The relationship between translators, illustrators and authors in illustrated nineteenth-century texts has so far not received scholarly attention, and neither has Italian translation of nineteenth-century prose fiction in general. I have previously emphasised that the investigation of the translational trends in a certain historical period might considerably ease the analysis of

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<sup>67</sup> “ [...] que’ leggitori che, ormai nauseati di lagrime e di sospiri, di cimiteri, di pugnali, di patiboli, di passioni ubbriache (sic) e di turpi amori, [...]”.

The preface, like the announcement published in *Bibliografia Italiana*, presents Borroni and Scotti’s edition as first Italian translation of *Gulliver’s Travels*. As observed by Gregori (2005, p.36), it is impossible to tell whether the failure to mention the 1729 translation was due to genuine ignorance or to deliberate calculation.

the micro-textual shift of a translation produced in that period. In the case of Barbieri's translation, this is prevented by a conspicuous gap in research which I will begin to address here.

We know that in the second half of the eighteenth century the faithfulness and the rigour in translation which had previously been advocated by Maffei and Salvini (see section 3.2) were gradually abandoned in favour of libertine practices analogous to those adopted in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France and Britain. Like the authors of the *belles infidèles*, Italian translators invested themselves with the authority to appropriate their sources and adjust them according to the tastes and the requirements of their contemporaries. One of the factors which led to such an abrupt change is the puzzlement experienced by Italian translators on their first coming into contact with the pre-romantic works of the northern European literatures (Binni, 1948, p.151)<sup>68</sup>. Mari (1994) tells us that far from being restricted to contemporary works, libertine translation procedures were extensively exploited in the rendering of the texts of the classical tradition<sup>69</sup>. I would like to point out that studies on neoclassical and pre-romantic Italian translations have concentrated exclusively on a specific category of translators, namely men of letters who translated for pleasure and personal educational purposes. The activity of that array of professional translators who were becoming more and more requested in the last decades of the eighteenth century (see Mari, 1994, p.32) has received scant attention. On the rare occasions in which they are mentioned, professional translators are associated with poor-quality and inferior products (see Mari, 1994, pp.32-33). As for the nineteenth century, remarks on the activity of professional translators become even rarer. The main reason behind this shortage of documentation is the actual impossibility of identifying a dominant trend due to the extremely high volume of translations and to the variety of individuals who chose translation as a profession. On the basis of these considerations, we will have to draw conclusions about Barbieri's translational attitude solely from the shifts occurring in his translation of *Gulliver's Travels*.

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<sup>68</sup> Binni supports this view by taking into consideration Giovan Giorgio Alberti's and Giuseppe Bottoni's translations of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (1742-1744) published respectively in 1770 and in 1775. Both Alberti and Bottoni, observes Binni (1948, p.163), are open to experimentation and do not hesitate to use words, accents and images which were unknown in the Italian literary tradition. However, the two translators, Bottoni in particular, show a clear determination to adapt the text to the scheme of classicist and metastasian poetry (1948, p.165), thus originating bizarre pastiches (1948, p.161)

<sup>69</sup> While describing the versions of the *Iliads* of Melchiorre Cesarotti and Vincenzo Monti, Mari (1994) employs terms like 'rigenerazione' (p.164 [regeneration]), 'svalutazione' (p.178 [devaluation]), 'modernizzazione' (p.182 [modernisation]), 'snaturazione' (p.347 [denaturalisation]), 'travestimento' (p.357 [travesty]), 'ristrutturazione' (p.360 [restructuring]), 'neutralizzazione' (p.363 [neutralisation]), 'razionalizzazione' (p.365 [rationalisation]).

### 3.6 *Viaggi di Gulliver* (Stella, 1840-42)

#### 3.6.1 Macro-level

We have seen that Stella's *Gulliver* is related to the 1838 Parisian edition of Fournier and Furne and to Taylor's 1840 London edition by the fact that they all contain Grandville's illustrations. The analogies between the Italian and the French version go even further and extend to the whole paratextual apparatus. The title pages share obvious similarities from the point of view of both the layout and the wording.

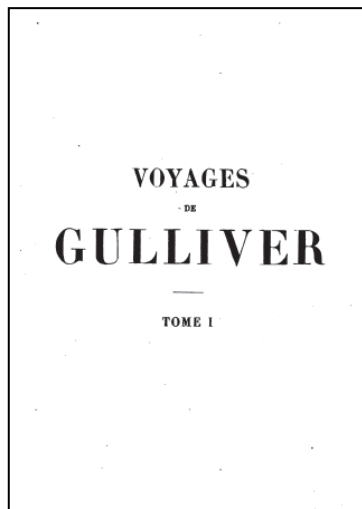


Fig.13 Main title page  
in Fournier and Furne's edition

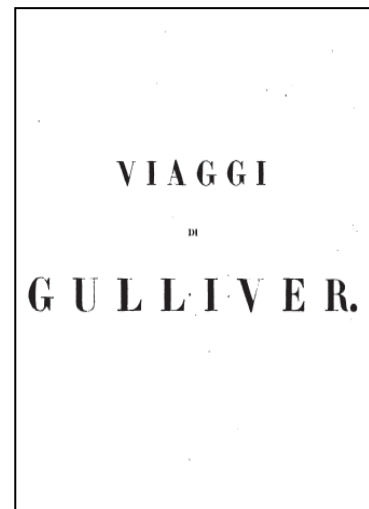


Fig.14 Main title page  
in Stella's edition

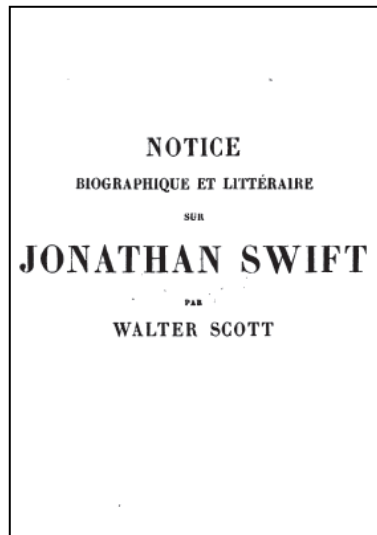


Fig.15 Title page preceding Scott's biographical  
notice in Fournier and Furne's edition

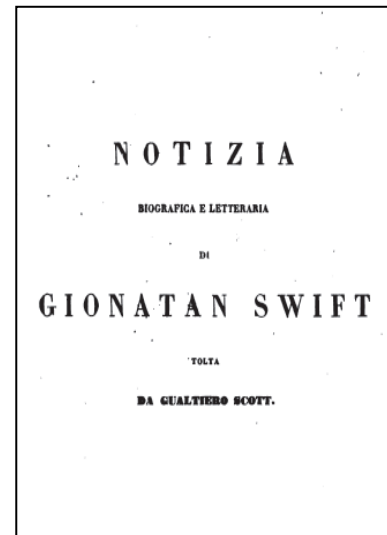


Fig.16 Title page preceding Scott's biographical  
notice in Stella's edition

As can easily be observed, the titles of the Italian edition are a literal translation of their French correspondents. The Italian version of Scott's biography is based on the notice contained in the French edition. There is no evidence that this was also rendered



by Barbieri. The fact that Barbieri also translated from French, however, makes it plausible that Stella assigned him the translation of all the material contained in his volume, including the prefatory pages. All the information is faithfully reproduced with the exception of the references to Yahoos and Houyhnhnms, which are made implicit or omitted. Let us compare two extracts of Scott's commentary across the original and the French and the Italian translations.

1814	Fournier and Furne, 1838	Stella, 1842
The Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms is a composition an editor of Swift must ever consider with pain. The source of such a diatribe against human nature could only be, that fierce indignation which he has described in his epitaph as so long gnawing his heart (p.337).	Le Voyage chez les Houyhnhnms est une diatribe sévère contre la nature humaine; elle n'a pu être inspirée que par l'indignation qui, comme Swift le reconnaît dans son <i>épitaphe</i> , avait si long-temps rongé son cœur (p.xxx).	Alcune severe diatribe contra la natura umana, non hanno potuto essere ispirate se non dall'ira che, come il medesimo Swift lo ha confessato nel comporsi il suo epitafio (sic) da sé, rodea da lungo tempo il suo cuore (p.xxvii)

Table 10 Extract from Scott's commentary  
in the original and in the French and Italian editions of 1838 and 1842

The French translation shortens the original extract in a sentence which reads “[t]he Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms is a severe diatribe against human nature; it could only be inspired by the indignation which, as Swift admitted in his epitaph, had for long gnawed his heart”. The Italian text faithfully reproduces the French version but omits the allusion to “the Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms”. The result is “some severe diatribes against human nature could only be inspired by the indignation which, as Swift himself admitted in his epitaph, had for long gnawed his heart”.

Further on the Italian introduction omits the clause “car l’homme qui se livre à une sensualité brutale, à la cruauté, à l’avarice, approche du Yahoo” (p.xxxii), which translates the English “since, in proportion as an individual indulges in sensuality, cruelty, or avarice, he approaches in resemblance to the detested Yahoo” (Scott, 1814, p. 338). The reason why allusions to Houyhnhnms and Yahoos disappear becomes clear when, moving on to the examination of the text’s internal organisation, we find out that Stella’s edition omits the fourth voyage<sup>70</sup>. Apart from this significant loss, the division of the narration into parts and chapters follows Swift’s original scheme.

<sup>70</sup> Considering that in eighteenth-century Italy this book was generally regarded as the most “exquisite” (see section 3.3.1), this discovery is unexpected. Pagetti hazards that the omission was not planned and that it is likely to have been constrained by a problem which arose during the preparation of the edition (1971, p.134). This conclusion is drawn on the basis that no significant manipulation is carried out in the first three voyages and that references to Part IV have not been removed from the long critical introduction. The notice of the *Bibliografia Italiana* published in October 1840 provides further support to Pagetti’s theory. This specified that 400 drawings would be present in the work and that weekly issues of eight or sixteen pages would be released in a seventy-week period. This means that the final result to which the publisher aspired was a publication of at least 560 pages and not a truncated volume of 328 pages.

Barbieri occasionally alters the “relations between the types of narrative” (Lambert and van Gorp, 1985, p.52) of the source text. Pagetti (1971, p.134) notices that, while rendering the description of the Struldbrugs (Part III, Chapter X, p.319), Barbieri switches from indirect to direct speech. I have found similar examples throughout the three voyages (e.g. Part I p.82; Part II p.140, 148, 176, 211, 215; Part III p.259, 312, 314).

The shift from indirect to direct speech implies, among the other changes, the introduction of emphatic exclamations such as “Oh! Son ben contento” [Oh! I’m so happy] (1842, p.314) and “Oh! Non è difficile” [Oh! It’s not difficult] (1842, p.314) which lower the register of the original conversations. This distinguishes Barbieri’s version not only from the source text but also from Marsecco’s 1729 translation, which, as we have seen, is characterised by a high, almost poetic register (see section 3.3.2). Other significant differences emerge as attention is directed to the micro-level.

### **3.6.2 Micro-level**

Fournier and Furne’s and Stella’s editions are based on different sources. The text of the French edition is clearly an amended version of Desfontaines’ 1727 translation. Despite being presented as a “nouvelle traduction”, in many points the 1838 text appears as a close reproduction, if not as an exact copy of Desfontaines’ version. The most visible interventions introduced by the new anonymous translator consist of the restoration of the parts which in the 1727 text had significantly been altered or completely omitted (see section 3.2). Whenever the 1838 translation departs from Desfontaines’ version, Faulkner’s 1735 text is used as a reference.

In Stella’s edition, Barbieri uses Faulkner’s text throughout. The alignment of the four passages of the voyage to Lilliput makes it possible to make some preliminary inferences regarding how Barbieri approached the re-codification of the source.

The target passages are visibly longer. The word count confirms that they exceed their source counterparts by respectively 103, 164, 142 and 86 words, thus suggesting a predominance of amplifying shifts. A closer look reveals that the difference in length is primarily due to Barbieri’s marked tendency to over-translation and to extensive specification and clarification. Below are some examples of how amplification operates.

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
I found myself within Depth; and by this Time the Storm was much abated.	sentii che il mio piede toccava terra; e da quel momento la burrasca aveva cominciato a calmarsi <b>tanto ch'io era padrone di tenercelo senza lasciarmi trasportare dai marosi.</b>	I felt that my foot was touching the ground; and from that moment the storm started to abate <b>insomuch as I was able to keep it there without letting myself carry away by the waves</b>
I heard one of them cry loud, <i>Tolgo Phonac</i>	uno di que' campioni profferì ad alta voce <b>queste parole: <i>Tolgo phonac,</i></b>	I heard one of them cry loud <b>these words: tolgo phonic</b>
my Design was to continue so till Night, <b>when</b> my left Hand being already loose, <b>I could easily free myself</b>	divisai starci fino alla notte, <b>durante la quale</b> , avendo la mano destra già in libertà, <b>non mi sarebbe stato difficile far libero il resto della mia persona</b>	I decided to stay like that till night, <b>during which</b> , being my right hand already loose, <b>it would not be difficult for me to free the rest of my person</b>

Table 11 Amplification in Barbieri's translation (passage one)

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
I have seen <b>him</b> do the Summerset several times together	Ho veduto <b>co' miei occhi questo stesso gran tesoriere</b> ripetere per più volte di seguito un salto mortale	I have seen <b>with my own eyes this very great treasurer</b> repeat for several times the somersault
These diversions are often attended with fatal Accidents, whereof great Numbers are on Record.	Questi spassi vanno rare volte scompagnati da fatali accidenti, gran numero de' quali è registrato <b>negli archivi imperiali.</b>	These diversions are rarely unaccompanied by fatal accidents, a great number of which is recorded in the <b>imperial archives</b>
<b>Whoever</b> performs his Part with most Agility, and holds out the longest in <i>leaping</i> and <i>creeping</i> , is rewarded with the Blue-coloured Silk	<b>Quel dei candidati che</b> fa la sua parte con maggiore agilità e la dura più a lungo nel saltare o passare di sotto, riceve in guiderdone il filo di seta azzurro	<b>He among the candidates who</b> performs his part with most agility and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk

Table 12 Amplification in Barbieri's translation, (passage two)

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
Now, in the midst of these intestine Disquiets, we are threatened with an Invasion from the Island of <i>Blefuscu</i>	Ora in mezzo a queste intestine discordie, <b>ne accade</b> essere minacciati d'una invasione <b>da quei</b> dell'isola di Blefuscu	Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, <b>it happens that</b> are threatened with an Invasion from <b>those of</b> the Island of <i>Blefuscu</i>
But the Books of the <i>Big-Endians</i> have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendred (sic) incapable by Law of holding Employments.	ed i libri dei <i>piattuvisti</i> furono a lungo proibiti <b>dall'imperiale censura</b> , ed i lor partigiani dichiarati dalla legge incapaci di a sostenere <b>qualche pubblico</b> incarico.	But the books of the Big-Endians have been long forbidden <b>by the imperial censorship</b> , and the whole party rendered incapable by Law of holding <b>some public</b> Employment.
<b>This</b> , however, is thought to be a meer (sic) Strain upon the Text	Noi per altro, <b>continuò il mio visitatore</b> , crediamo essere questa obbiezione una vera stiracchiatura fatta sul testo	We believe, furthermore, <b>continued my guest, this objection</b> to be a mere Strain upon the Text

Table 13 Amplification in Barbieri's translation, (passage three)

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
I made a shift to get to the Palace without trampling on any of the People	m'ingegnai tanto che arrivai al palazzo senza aver schiacciato un solo individuo <b>di quell'affollatissima popolazione</b>	I made a shift to get to the Palace without trampling on any of the People <b>of that extremely crowded population</b>
I might easily stifled it with my Coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste	Avrei potuto facilmente spegner l' <b>incendio</b> col mio giustacuore; ma la sfortuna avea voluto che in quella fretta lo avessi lasciato addietro	I might easily stifled <b>the fire</b> with my Coat, but misfortune wanted that in that haste I left it behind
I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine, called <i>Glimigrim</i>	Io avea la sera innanzi bevuto in grande quantità di quel delizioso vino che a <b>Lilliput</b> chiamavasi, <i>glimigrim</i>	I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine which in <b>Lilliput</b> was called <i>glimigrim</i>

Table 14 Amplification in Barbieri's translation, (passage four)

The amplifications introduced by Barbieri make the source more explicit and transparent. The presence of a higher number of details makes it possible for the reader to visualise with more immediacy what Swift originally left implicit.

The explicitation of the information of the source, at times, results in the intensification of the satirical effect. We know that Swift exploits scrupulous descriptions and insignificant details to ridicule the scientific precision used by many contemporary authors of travel narrative to make their fabrications appear genuine (see Chapter Two, section 2.1). By adding further details and by making the narration more verbose and pedantic, Barbieri magnifies this effect, thus taking part in Swift's satirical game.

Besides intensifying Swift's satire, Barbieri also deciphers and comments on it. He does so by exploiting another form of amplification - explanatory footnotes. In Chapter IV (passage three), for instance, he discloses the allegorical meaning of the strife between Tramecksan and Slamecksan, (1842, p.51), thus providing his readers with an important key for interpretation. Some of Barbieri's critical elucidations are derived from the footnotes included in the editions of Hawkesworth and Sir Walter Scott, who, as already indicated, exerted a strong influence on the Italian reception of Swift's work.

Amplifications do more than affect Swift's satire. As showed by the example below, they can also considerably increase the dramatic force of the source.

Passage	Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
1	I then advanced forward near half a Mile, but could not discover any sign of Houses or Inhabitants ; at least <b>I was in so weak a Condition</b> , that I did not observe them	Andai innanzi quasi mezzo miglio senza scoprire alcun vestigio di abitanti o di case; o certo, se v'erano, non me ne accorsi, <b>tanto la prostrazione assoluta del mio corpo m'avea ridotto a tristo partito</b>	I then advanced forward near half a Mile, without discovering any sign of Houses or Inhabitants; or, if they were there, I did not notice them, <b>so much the prostration of my body had reduced me to such poor condition</b>
3	but, however, added, that if it had not been for the present Situation of things at Court, perhaps <b>I might not have obtained it so soon</b>	ma subito aggiunse che n'aveva anche un gran merito lo stato presente delle cose a corte, senza di <b>che avrei forse dovuto sospirare anche un bel pezzetto tal mia libertà</b>	but he added at once that the present Situation of things at Court had a merit in it, without which <b>I might have had to hanker after my liberty for quite a while</b>
4	The Reader may remember, that when I signed those Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, there were some which I disliked upon Account of <b>their being too servile</b>	Si ricorderà il lettore come allorquando io mi sottoscrissi agli articoli condizionali della riacquistata mia libertà, alcuni di questi mi riuscissero sgradevoli per <b>la natura loro sì umiliante e servile</b>	The Reader may remember, that when I signed those conditional Articles of my recovered Liberty, some of which I disliked for <b>their humiliating and servile nature</b>

Table 15 Intensification of the dramatic effect in Barbieri's translation

Barbieri's tendency to over-translation has evident repercussions on the syntactic structure. The introduction of new details and the expansion of already existing information generate new clauses, with the result that syntactic construction of the source is transformed. Let us examine the alterations performed by Barbieri in the following extract from passage one.

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
But when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within Depth; and by this Time the Storm was much abated.	Sol quando fui quasi spedito, né ero più abile ad aiutarmi da me in alcun modo, sentii che il mio piede toccava terra; e da quel momento la burrasca aveva cominciato a calmarsi tanto ch'io era padrone di tenercelo senza lasciarmi trasportare dai marosi.	Only when I was almost gone, and was no longer able to help myself out in any way, I felt that my foot was touching the ground; and from that moment the storm started to abate insomuch as I was able to keep it there without letting myself be carried away by the waves.

Table 16 Syntactic transposition in Barbieri's translation, extract from passage 1

If we pair the clauses which compose the sentences of the source and the target text, we obtain a scheme which looks like this.

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842
But when I was almost gone	Sol quando fui quasi spedito,
and able	né ero più abile
to struggle no longer,	a d'aiutarmi da me in alcun modo,
I found myself within Depth	sentii
	che il mio piede toccava terra;
and by this Time the Storm was much abated.	e da quel momento la burrasca aveva cominciato
	a calmarsi
	tanto ch'io era padrone
	di tenercelo
	senza lasciarmi trasportare dai marosi.

Table 17 Syntactic structure of the extract in table 16

Barbieri amplifies the two clauses “I found myself within Depth” and “by this time the Storm was much abated” and splits them into two clauses, one coordinate (“sentii” and “da quel momento la burrasca aveva cominciato”) and one subordinate (“che il mio piede toccava terra” and “a calmarsi”). The structure of the target text sentence is further convoluted through the addition of three new clauses. By implementing these shifts, Barbieri produces an effect which is exactly the opposite to that observed in Marsecco’s translation. Here, we remember, the combination of condensation and syntactic transposition resulted in the simplification of the syntactic structure (see section 3.3.2).

Reductive shifts are also present in Barbieri’s version. However, their impact on lexical, syntactic and semantic content of the source text is far from being as obtrusive and apparent as that made by amplification.

The analysis of the changes associated with amplification shows that, compared to Marsecco, Barbieri is clearly less concerned with preserving the integrity of the source text. Not all differences between Marsecco’s and Barbieri’s translational attitudes, however, are ascribable to the effects of amplifying shifts. In Barbieri’s version, the sequence of the extinction of the fire departs from the source for different reasons.

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842
I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine, called <i>Glimigrim</i> , (the <i>Blefuscudians</i> call it <i>Flunec</i> , but ours is esteemed the better Sort) which is very diuretick. By the luckiest Chance in the World, I had not discharged myself of any Part of it. The Heat I had contracted by coming very near the Flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the Wine begin to operate by Urine; which I voided in such a Quantity, and applied so well to the proper Places, that in three Minutes the Fire was wholly extinguished; For, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Capital in any Person, of what Quality soever, to make Water within the Precincts of the Palace.	Io aveva la sera innanzi bevuto in grande quantità di quel delizioso vino che a Lilliput chiamavasi <i>glimigrim</i> e che a Blefusco chiamano <i>flunec</i> , ma quello di Lilliput è giudicato di miglior qualità. Questo vino è di sua natura molto diuretico, ma per la più fortunata combinazione non aveva esercitata tal sua virtù in me per tutta la notte. Probabilmente il calor delle fiamme cui andai sì vicino, e la fatica fatta nel gettare acqua sovr'esse mise in piena azione questa virtù, e ben in tempo, perchè non fui lento a profittarne come il caso esigea, ed in tre minuti fu spento affatto l'incendio stantechè, secondo gli statuti fondamentali del regno, è delitto capitale, qualunque sia la persona che se ne renda colpevole, lo spargere immondezze nei precinti della reggia.

Table 18 Censorship in Barbieri’s translation (passage four)



Presumably worried that Swift's impudence would distress his readers, Barbieri censors the source text by making every reference to urine implicit. The source expressions "discharged myself of any part of it" and "made the wine begin to operate by urine", are rendered with "non aveva esercitata tal sua virtù" [did not exert that virtue of its] and "mise in piena azione questa virtù" [fully activated this virtue]. The expression "questa virtù" [this virtue] is an anaphoric reference to the previous sentence - "This wine is naturally very diuretic but for the luckiest chance this virtue had not had any effect on me all night". Further on he replaces the expression "to make Water" with "lo spargere immondezze" [the scattering of filth].

Barbieri's and Marsecco's translations display marked differences also from a stylistic and aesthetic point of view. Marsecco carefully avoids reiteration by using a varied and refined vocabulary. The same cannot be said of Barbieri, who introduces tedious repetitions even when these are not present in the source text. In passage one and four, for example, he makes the pronouns 'it' and 'ours' explicit, thus making the repetition of the words 'braccio' and 'Lilliput' necessary.

Passage	Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
1	I had the Fortune to [...] wrench out the Pegs that fastened my left <b>Arm</b> to the Ground; for, by lifting <b>it</b> up to my Face, I discovered the Methods they had taken to bind me	ebbi la fortuna di [...] staccare dal suolo le caviglie che tenevano legato il mio <b>braccio</b> sinistro. Allora, portandomi alla faccia questo <b>braccio</b> , potei capire la meccanica di cui si erano valse per legarmi in quel modo	I had the fortune to wrench out the pegs that fastened my left <b>arm</b> . Then, by lifting this <b>arm</b> up to my face, I was able to discover the methods they had taken to bind me in that way
4	I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine, called <i>Glimigrim</i> , (the <i>Blefuscu</i> dians call it <i>Flunec</i> , but <b>ours</b> is esteemed the better Sort)	Io aveva la sera innanzi bevuto in grande quantità di quel delizioso vino che a <b>Lilliput</b> chiamavasi <i>glimigrim</i> e che a Blefuscu chiamano <i>flunec</i> , ma quello di <b>Lilliput</b> è giudicato di miglior qualità	I had the Evening before drank plentifully of that delicious Wine which in <b>Lilliput</b> was called <i>Glimigrim</i> and which in Blefuscu is called <i>flunec</i> , but that of <b>Lilliput</b> is esteemed the better sort

Table 19 Repetitions in Barbieri's translation

The analysis of the macro-level anticipated that, unlike Marsecco, Barbieri opts for linguistic choices which lower the register of the source text. The diminutives detected during the micro-textual analysis confirmed this behaviour. In passage one "ligatures" "human creature" and "strings" are translated respectively with "funicelle", "creaturina umana" and "cordicelle". In addition, the Lilliputians are called "signorini". Besides lowering the register of the source, these renderings make the Lilliputians and their world (and therefore English people and England) even more minuscule, thus strengthening the satirical effect.

Personal stylistic preferences are unlikely to constitute the only reason for the differences that distinguish Marsecco's and Barbieri's translations. Explanations are rather to be sought in the changes which affected the literary polysystem between the publication of the two translations. We should bear in mind that Marsecco operated

under the pressure of the aesthetic and stylistic constraints imposed by the Arcadia (see section 3.1). In addition, the translational norms in force in Italy at that time compelled him to produce as faithful as possible a translation. The greater flexibility allowed by the nineteenth-century literary establishments supposedly authorised Barbieri to adopt a more creative and critical stance.

The formal and structural differences of the source languages might also have contributed to the discrepancy between the translational approaches followed by Marsecco and by Barbieri. The fact that English, compared to French, has fewer affinities with Italian, might justify Barbieri's greater propensity to diverge from the source. This hypothesis is supported by the lack of coherence across the translated materials which compose Stella's edition. As we have seen, the text of *Gulliver's Travels* is preceded by a translation of the version of Scott's biography included in Fournier and Furne's French edition. The proximity between the Italian and the French versions of Scott's biographical notice is considerably greater than that between Barbieri's translation of *Gulliver's Travels* and Faulkner's text<sup>71</sup>.

After having identified the shifts implemented by Barbieri and observed in what terms his rendition differs from Marsecco's, let us direct our attention to Grandville's illustrations and to how Barbieri's translation relates to them.

Grandville's drawings bear an intimate and harmonious relationship with Swift's text, thus closely following the development of the plot as well as the satirical crescendo (see Renonciat, 1985, p.186; Sena, 1992, pp.108-109). This strong empathy results from the many artistic and personal affinities shared by Swift and Grandville. Like Swift, Grandville was an attentive and critical observer of the political, cultural and social context in which he lived and expressed his indignation at the vices, the idleness and the corruption of their contemporaries by means of grotesque "metamorphoses, metempsychoses, transformations [and] deformations" (Beraldi, 1885, p.202, my translation)<sup>72</sup>. If in the satirical crescendo of *Gulliver's Travels* Swift equates the human race with the coarse monkey-like Yahoos, in the seventy scenes of *Les métamorphoses du jour* (1829) Grandville turns the inhabitants of the industrialised world into hybrids with human bodies and animal heads. Due to the forcefulness and the outspokenness of their metaphorical visions, Swift and Grandville have both been called misanthropes

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<sup>71</sup> Besides strengthening the idea that translational attitudes are influenced by the proximity between source and target language, this refutes Lambert and Van Gorp's hypothesis that the results obtained from the analysis of the macro-structure tend to be indicative of general strategy followed to translate the actual text.

<sup>72</sup> Beraldi describes Grandville as "dénicheur ingénieux et patient d'inventions petites et bizarres, métamorphoses, métempsychoses, transformations, déformations; [...]".

and ruthless savages (see Beraldi, 1885, p.206 and Renonciat, 1985, p.130). This was probably what caused Thackeray to address the French caricaturist as “that Swift of the pencil” (1846, p.496).

The strong sympathy between Swift and Grandville and the dynamism with which Grandville’s illustrations merge with the text of *Gulliver’s Travels* clearly had a strong ascendancy on Barbieri’s decisions. His translation shows that considerable efforts were made with the specific intention to maintain a dynamic and dialogic relationship between Swift’s text and the Grandville’s interpretation of it.

The shifts actuated by Barbieri and the effects which they produce, overall, are in line with the process of intersemiotic re-codification implemented by Grandville.

Grandville visually translates Swift’s text with scrupulous precision and an abundance of details which make apparent what in the verbal text is left implicit. The explicitness of his illustrations often results in the intensification of the dramatic impact of the verbal text and of the emotional expressivity of the characters. Let us focus on the illustrations which represent Gulliver swimming for survival after the shipwreck (Fig.17) and suffering the attacks of the Lilliputians (Fig.18). In the first vignette Gulliver’s body language and facial expressions accentuate his exhaustion while he struggles not to get swallowed by the stormy sea. In the second illustration Grandville increases Gulliver’s discomfort and pain by condensing in one scene the attacks which in the written text take place in separate stages.



Fig.17 Gulliver swimming for survival,  
Fournier and Furne, tome I, p.8,  
Stella, p.7

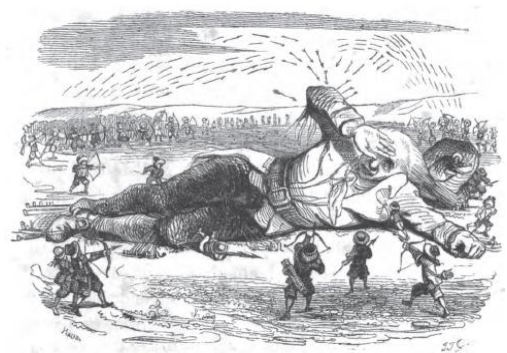


Fig.18 Gulliver under siege,  
Fournier and Furne, tome I, p.11,  
Stella, p.9

Some of Grandville’s illustrations reinforce Swift’s satire. The illuminated letter which opens Chapter III of the voyage to Lilliput (Fig.19) anticipates that the “candidates for great employments, and high favour at court” perform a dance on the rope in front of the emperor and “whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the Office” (Swift, 1735, p.31). Grandville amplifies the verbal text with the addition



of some details (i.e. balls and a pole) which turn the three candidates into a tightrope walker, a juggler and an acrobat. It is generally agreed that the description of the entertainments at the court of Lilliput is exploited by Swift to criticise contemporary aspiring politicians and noblemen who debased themselves in the race to power (see for example Lock, 1980, pp.79-80; Rivero, 2002, pp.32-33). Grandville's characterisation makes the satirical effect produced in the verbal text more explicit and sharper. A similar effect is produced by the allegorical representation of the religious conflict between Catholic France and Protestant England which followed Henry VIII's rupture with the Church of Rome (Fig.20). Swift attributes the beginning of the dispute to an argument over which end of an egg to break. In the vignette the war is fought by personified eggcups which kill each other by smashing their heads (the eggs which they carry) with knives and forks. As a result, the bloody religious conflict is ridiculed and diminished even further (Sena, 1992, p.115).



Fig.19 Initial of Chapter III,  
Fournier and Furne, tome I, p.41,  
Stella, p.34



Fig.20 Battle between Small- and Big-Endians,  
Fournier and Furne, tome I, p.63,  
Stella, p.55

The introduction of new details and the intensification of the dramatic and satirical impact of the source text are shifts which, as we have previously attested, are characteristic of Barbieri's translational attitude.

The relationship between Barbieri's translation and Grandville's illustrations is not limited to these affinities. I have reason to believe that Grandville's illustrations acted as a constraint on Barbieri's decisions, thus occasionally inducing him to depart from Swift's text.

Let us focus on the changes introduced in passage one.

Faulkner, 1735	Stella, 1842	back-translation
At Length, struggling to get loose, I had the Fortune to break the Strings, and wrench out the Pegs that fastened my <b>left Arm</b> to the Ground; for, by lifting <b>it</b> up to my Face, I discovered the Methods they had taken to bind me;	finalmente a furia di sforzi per mettermi in libertà, ebbi la fortuna di rompere le cordicelle che mi stringevano attorno la vita e di staccare dal suolo le caviglie che tenevano legato il mio <b>braccio sinistro</b> . Allora, portandomi alla faccia <b>questo braccio</b> , potei capire la meccanica di cui si erano valsi per legarmi in quel modo	at length, struggling to free myself, I had the fortune to break the strings which were fastened around my waist and to wrench out the pegs which that kept my <b>left arm</b> tied to the ground. Then, by lifting <b>this arm</b> up to my face, I was able to discover the methods they had taken to bind me in that way
they shot another Flight into the Air, as we do Bombs in <i>Europe</i> ; whereof many, I suppose, fell on my Body, (though I felt them not) and some on my Face, which I immediately covered with my <b>left Hand</b>	scoccarono all'aria una folata di dardi, come facciamo noi con le bombe in Europa, alcuni de' quali caddero, suppongo, sul mio corpo, ancorchè io non li sentissi grazie ai miei panni; ed altri su la mia faccia che mi copersi con la <b>mano destra</b>	they shot into the air another Flight, as we do with bombs in Europe, some of which, I suppose, fell on my body, though I felt them not thanks to my clothes; and others on my face, which I covered with my <b>right hand</b>
I thought it the most prudent Method to lie still; and my Design was to continue so till Night, when my <b>left Hand</b> being already loose, I could easily free myself	Credei quindi che il più saggio partito per me fosse lo starmene quieto per allora; e divisai starci fino alla notte, durante la quale, avendo la <b>mano destra</b> già in libertà, non mi sarebbe stato difficile far libero il resto della mia persona	I therefore believed that the wisest method for me was to remain quiet for the time being; and I decided to stay like that till night, during which, being my <b>right hand</b> already loose, it would not be difficult for me to free the rest of my person

Table 20 Shifts imposed by Grandville's illustrations I

In the English text Gulliver affirms that he has freed his *left* arm and used his *left* hand to protect his face from the arrows shot by the Lilliputians. Then, having realised that each of his movements caused a new attack, Gulliver resolves to stay still until night, “when my *left* Hand being already loose, I could easily free myself”. In Barbieri's translation Gulliver also frees his *left* arm but covers his face and plans to free the rest of his body with the *right* hand. My impression is that this departure was instigated by the extract's immediate proximity with Fig.18 (see above), in which Gulliver also covers his face with the right hand.<sup>73</sup>

Earlier in the passage, Gulliver makes his first acquaintance with the Lilliputians. In the English text we read “when bending mine eyes downwards as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human Creature not six Inches high [...]” (Swift, 1735, p.5). The two clauses are rendered in Italian with “[c]hinando gli occhi all'ingiù quanto potei *con la mia testa, fatta immobile dalle legature*, vidi che quel vivente era una creaturina umana, non alta sei dita [...]” (Swift, 1842, p.8, my emphasis). Barbieri specifies that Gulliver's field of vision is limited because his head is made immobile by the ligatures. The illustration which immediately follows (Fig.21) clearly shows that Gulliver struggles to raise his head because his hair is closely tied to the ground. This suggests that, once again, Grandville's illustration influenced Barbieri's decision.

<sup>73</sup> The shift ‘left hand – mano destra’ is not to be attributed to Grandville's initiative or lack of attention. The analysis of the French edition for which the illustrations were originally commissioned reveals that the same variation was already present in the verbal text as well as in its source – Desfontaines' 1727 version.



Fig.21 Gulliver attempting to raise his head,  
Fournier and Furne, tome I, p.9,  
Stella, p.8

The most explicit evidence of Barbieri's inclination to accommodate Grandville's drawings has to do with the illuminated letters which begin the opening word of each chapter. The initials are inscribed in attractive floral or geometrical compositions or, more often, in a scene which recalls a specific episode. In any case, they are admirable examples of Grandville's art. Sena (1990) commented that the illuminated letters are "so delicately and imaginatively executed that they alone would have brought this edition of *Gulliver's Travels* widespread acclaim" (p.109). The table below compares the opening sentence in the first four chapter of the voyage to Lilliput across the English standard text and the French and the Italian translation. All the initials of the Italian version correspond to those of the French edition.

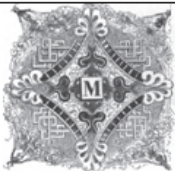



Faulkner 1735	Illuminated letter	Fournier & Furne 1838	Stella 1842
<b>My</b> father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five Sons.		<b>Mon</b> père avait un petit bien situé dans la province de Nottingham. J'étais le troisième de ses cinq fils.	<b>Mio</b> padre era un piccolo possidente della contea di Nottingham; fui il terzo de'suoi cinque figli.
<b>When</b> I found myself on my Feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining Prospect.		<b>Quand</b> je me retrouvai sur pied, je regardai autour de moi, et je dois avouer que je n'avais jamais contemplé une scène plus agréable.	<b>Quando</b> mi trovai in piedi, mi guardai attorno, e confesso di non avere mai veduta una più dilettevole prospettiva.
<b>My</b> gentleness and good Behavior had gained so far on the Emperor and his Court, and indeed upon the Army and People in general, that I began to conceive Hopes of getting my Liberty in a short Time.		<b>Ma</b> douceur et ma bonne conduit m'avaient tellement gagné la faveur de l'empereur et de sa cour, même du peuple et de l'armée, que j'espérais obtenir bientôt ma liberté, et je n'oubliais rien pour entretenir ma popularité.	<b>Mercé</b> le mie buone maniere ed il mio buon procedere, io era sì ben giunto a cattivarmi i cuori dell'imperatore, della corte, dell'esercito, ed in generale della popolazione, che principiai a concepire la speranza di ottenere la mia libertà in breve tempo.
<b>The</b> first Request I made after I had obtained my Liberty, was that I might have License to see Mildendo, the Metropolis; which the Emperor easily granted me, but with a special Charge to do no Hurt, either to the Inhabitants or their Houses.		<b>La</b> première requête que je présentai, après avoir obtenu ma liberté, fut pour avoir la permission de voir Mildendo, capitale de l'empire; ce que l'empereur m'accorda, mais en me recommandant de ne faire aucun mal aux habitants, ni aucun tort à leurs maisons.	<b>La</b> prima inchiesta ch'io feci divenuto libero, si fuper ottenere la permissione di vedere Mildendo, metropoli dell'impero.

Table 21 Illuminated letters in the first four chapters of the voyage to Lilliput in Faulkner's 1735 text and in Fournier and Furne's and Stella's editions

Fortunately for Barbieri, most of the words which open the chapters of the standard English version share the initial with their French and Italian equivalents. In only one case does the French initial impose a departure from the source text. In Italian, possessive adjectives are normally preceded by a definite article. Accordingly, in Chapter III, "my gentleness" (in French "ma douceur") was rendered with "le mie buone maniere" [thanks to my good manners]. In order to maintain the French initial 'm', Barbieri began the sentence with 'mercé' [thanks to].

It is interesting to notice that similar interventions had also been performed by Taylor, the editor of the 1840 London edition. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, Taylor's edition was the second, after Fournier and Furne's, to include Grandville's illustrations. The text used by Taylor is an exact copy of Faulkner's text if not for the presence of departures intentionally induced to accommodate Grandville's illuminate letters. Let us return to focus on the first four chapters of the voyage to Lilliput to compare, this time, the opening sentences in the standard English edition, the French 1838 version and Taylor's 1840 edition.

<b>Faulkner 1735</b>	<b>Fournier &amp; Furne 1838</b>	<b>Hayward &amp; Moore 1840</b>
<b>My</b> father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five Sons.	<b>Mon</b> père avait un petit bien situé dans la province de Nottingham. J'étais le troisième de ses cinq fils.	<b>My</b> father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five sons.
<b>When</b> I found myself on my Feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining Prospect.	<b>Quand</b> je me retrouvai sur pied, je regardai autour de moi, et je dois avouer que je n'avais jamais contemplé une scène plus agréable.	<b>Quietly</b> as I had endured my tedious confinement to one posture, it was with great pleasure that I found myself again upon my feet: I looked about me, and must confess that I never beheld a more entertaining prospect.
<b>My</b> gentleness and good Behavior had gained so far on the Emperor and his Court, and indeed upon the Army and People in general, that I began to conceive Hopes of getting my Liberty in a short Time.	<b>Ma</b> douceur et ma bonne conduite m'avaient tellement gagné la faveur de l'empereur et de sa cour, même du peuple et de l'armée, que j'espérais obtenir bientôt ma liberté, et je n'oubliais rien pour entretenir ma popularité.	<b>My</b> gentleness and good behavior had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time.
<b>The</b> first Request I made after I had obtained my Liberty, was that I might have License to see Mildendo, the Metropolis; which the Emperor easily granted me, but with a special Charge to do no Hurt, either to the Inhabitants or their Houses.	<b>La</b> première requête que je présentai, après avoir obtenu ma liberté, fut pour avoir la permission de voir Mildendo, capitale de l'empire; ce que l'empereur m'accorda, mais en me recommandant de ne faire aucun mal aux habitants, ni aucun tort à leurs maisons.	<b>Liberty</b> having been granted me, my first request was for permission to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the emperor readily allowed me, but with a special charge not to hurt either the inhabitants or their houses.

Table 22 Illuminated letters in the first four chapters of the voyage to Lilliput in Faulkner's 1735 text and in Fournier and Furne's and Taylor's editions

In Chapters I and III the initials of the English standard edition and of the French version happen to correspond. However, in Chapters II and IV the English “when” and “the first” are replaced in French with their equivalents “quand” and “la première”, and hence with words which begin with different letters. Like Barbieri, Taylor implements a series of adaptive shifts which make it possible for him to maintain the illuminated initials. In Chapter II, he amplifies the source text by beginning the sentence with the wordy addition “[q]uietly as I had endured my tedious confinement to one posture, it was great pleasure that”. In doing so, Taylor introduces a dramatic note which recalls the effect produced by many of Barbieri's amplifications. In Chapter IV manipulation consists of syntactic restructuring, by which the clause “after I had obtained my liberty” is fronted and turned into an implicit and impersonal construction (“Liberty having been granted me”). A similar procedure, as it has been seen, was also adopted by Barbieri.

When the re-elaboration of the opening sentence of the standard text does not suffice to preserve the letter of the French edition, Taylor introduces a brand new sentence (see Part I, Chapter VI; Part III, Chapter V; Part IV, Chapters I and IX). In Chapter IX a particularly lengthy addition reinforces the contrast between the virtuous and sensible Houyhnhnms and the quarrelsome and brutish Yahoos.




Faulkner 1735	Illuminated letter	Fournier & Furne 1838	Hayward & Moore 1840
One of these Grand Assemblies was held in my time, about three Months before my departure, whither my Master went as the Representative of our District.		Une de ces grandes assemblées eut lieu pendant mon séjour en ce pays, environ trois mois avant de mon départ; mon maître y siégea en qualité de député de son canton.	Unanimity generally prevails in the decisions of the councils of the <i>Houyhnhnms</i> , even when the members come together with different opinions, for no <i>Houyhnhnm</i> is ashamed to become a convert to reason and argument. One of these Grand Assemblies was held in my time, about three Months before my departure, whither my Master went as the Representative of our District.

Table 23 Initials of Chapter IX, Part IV,  
in Faulkner's 1735 text and in Fournier and Furne's and Taylor's editions

As a result of Taylor's interventions, which affect the openings of 30 of the 39 chapters, all the chapters of the 1840 London edition have initials which match those of the French translation.

Taylor's tampering with the English standard text was met with some resistance. George Ravenscroft Dennis, editor of one of the most successful and accredited nineteenth-century editions of *Gulliver's Travels*, defines Taylor's edition as the "handsomest, as well as the most learned that has yet appeared" (1899, p.xiii). However, he is surprised to notice that "he had so little respect of the text that he did not scruple to alter, distort, or add to the opening sentences of nearly every chapter, in order to begin with the same letter as the French edition" (ibid.).

Clearly, Dennis perceives Grandville's illustrations as derivations subordinate to an ideal of fixed and quintessential original of *Gulliver's Travels* and Taylor's manipulations to accommodate them as a threat to such a text. By adhering to what Lefevere and Hermans define as a Romantic idea of originality (see Chapter One, section 1.1), Dennis overlooks the fact that Grandville's drawings added significant value to Swift's work and that, together with the textual variants introduced by Taylor (and by Barbieri), they are an integral part of the chain process of refraction which helped *Gulliver's Travels* gain popularity on the international literary scene.

Grandville's illustrations and the textual manipulations which they prompted give a good idea of how refractions make it possible for literary works to remain visible within the literary polysystem. Depending on the impact which they make as they appear on the literary scene, refractions will become a more or less popular source of new derivative creations. These will continue to ensure interest in the mother source by means of their references to its standard text and as well as to the refractions which preceded them. The analysis of Stella's edition offers a good opportunity to reflect on

how this process works. The charm of Grandville's illustrations attracted the attention of Stella, who commissioned a new translation of *Gulliver's Travels* to include them. I would like to emphasise, at this stage, that Barbieri and Grandville are not the only agents through which Swift's work is refracted in Stella's edition. Their refracting voices coalesce with that of Hawkesworth, clearly distinguishable in some of Barbieri's explanatory footnotes, and that of Scott, whose influential critical remarks serve as an introduction to Barbieri's translation.

Barbieri, Grandville, Hawkesworth and Scott submit Swift's work to an integrated process of renovation, whereby they add and omit details, make factual and allegorical information explicit or implicit, strengthen or weaken the dramatic and satirical effect and portray places and characters as they picture them in their mind. At the same time, however, they reaffirm *Gulliver's Travel's* literary significance by emphasising its canonical qualities and exalting Swift's artistic skills.

Stella's edition made a great contribution to the permanence of Swift's work in the Italian literary polysystem. On the one hand, the collaborative process of refraction which it entails aligned Swift's work with the critical and aesthetic standards in force in the first half of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, as we will see, it became the source of other refractions which increased the popularity of Swift's work in the second half of the century.

### **3.7 The popularisation and the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* in united Italy**

The publication of Borroni and Scotti's and Stella's 1840(-42) translations was followed by a 25-year period in which *Gulliver's Travels* did not attract any new interest. From 1865 new editions of Swift's work started to appear on the literary scene regularly.

According to my records, nine editions of Swift's work were published in Italy between 1865 and 1890<sup>74</sup>. The table below displays the bibliographical details of each of these editions.

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<sup>74</sup> In his list of nineteenth-century translations of *Gulliver's Travels*, Carlo Pagetti (1971, pp.285-286) includes another version – *Viaggio meraviglioso di Gulliver a Brobdingnag*. The version is said to have been published in 1864 by the Milanese publisher Angelo Zanaboni. Despite having contacted the libraries mentioned by Pagetti and consulted their catalogues, I have not been able to trace this version. Pagetti indicates in a note that Zanaboni's edition is the first children's version of *Gulliver's Travels*. However, Zanaboni does not seem to be involved in the publishing of children's books. Gregori (2005, p.286) also lists Zanaboni's edition, but it should not be forgotten that his study is largely based on Pagetti's records. Neither Pagetti nor Gregori make any mention of the editions published by Sonzogno and Carrara in 1868 and in 1890.

Bestetti's and Muggiani's publications are respectively a fourth and a second edition. None of the previous editions seems to have survived or to have been recorded in any catalogue.

Year	Publisher	Title and subtitle	Place of publication
1865	Giulio Bestetti	Viaggi di Gulliver	Milan
1868	Edoardo Sonzogno	Almanacco illustrato del meraviglioso viaggio di Gulliver a Laputa	Milan
1874	Serafino Muggiani	Viaggi di Gulliver	Milan
1876	Flli. Treves	I viaggi di Gulliver a Lilliput, Brobdingnag e nel paese degli Houyhnhm di Swift. Tradotto dall'inglese e abbreviato ad uso dei fanciulli	Milan
1877	G. B. Paravia	Viaggio di Gulliver a Lilliput. Edizione classica con biografia e note filologiche e storiche ad uso degli studenti la lingua inglese	Turin
1883	Edoardo Sonzogno	I viaggi di Gulliver	Milan
1886	Edoardo Perino	Viaggi di Gulliver narrati da G. Swift illustrati da Gino de Bini	Rome
1887	A. G. Cairo	Il viaggio di Gulliver al paese di Lilliput	Codogno
1890	Paolo Carrara	La storia dei viaggi di Gulliver narrata ai giovinetti da Maria Viani Visconti Cavanna	Milan

Table 24 Italian editions of *Gulliver's Travels* published between 1865 and 1890

The information provided in this table establishes that the Italian reception of *Gulliver's Travels* underwent a significant change from the mid 1860s. Several of the publishers involved were closely associated with the transformations which affected the Italian publishing scene in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sonzogno, Treves and Perino are widely recognised as three of the most influential publishers of the 1860s and the 1870s (see for example Marchetti, 1997; Carrarini, 2004; Bacci, 2009; Pallottino, 2010). Their major achievement consists of having made printed matter easily accessible to a popular readership and turning popular publishing into an important and dynamic industry. Treves and Perino are also renowned for having given a strong impulse to the production of series especially addressed to young readers (Marchetti, 1997, pp.129, 140; Pallottino, 2010, pp.220, 230; Turi, 2004, pp.16-18). Paravia and Carrara are among the most successful publishers to specialise in this sector (see Palazzolo, 2004, p.75; Turi, 2004 p.17; Pallottino, 2010, p.216).

The publishers' profiles and the frequency with which their editions of *Gulliver's Travels* appeared suggest that Swift's work had ceased to be a book for the few and that its popularity had increased.

When the first translation of Swift's work appeared in 1729, literacy was a privilege of the upper classes. Well-off readers were presented with a wide array of reading choices. These ranged from edifying and didactic books largely inspired by Arcadian standards and, hence, by the models of the Greek, Latin and Italian tradition, to translations of light-hearted novels and novelettes which epitomised the emerging fashion of reading for pleasure (Marchesi, 1903, p.27). These included captivating imaginary adventures, frivolous and often suggestive love stories, accounts of the worldly life of the bourgeoisie and of the aristocracy (Marchesi, 1903, pp.24-28). With



its hybrid nature, *Gulliver's Travels* did not fall in any of the categories of books with which Italian readers were most accustomed. The philosophical, moral and political implications which pervade it would likely be objected to by the habitual readers of frivolous novels. On the other hand, Gulliver's paradoxical adventures and Swift's outspokenness would hardly be tolerated by those who approached reading from an Arcadian standpoint.

In the nineteenth century, when prose fiction became widely accepted and the didactic and entertaining functions of literature began to harmonise in the novel, the ideal conditions were created for *Gulliver's Travels* to attract more attention. However, as suggested by the characteristics of the 1840 translations, the accessibility of Swift's work continued to remain restricted to a relatively privileged readership.

In the 1860s *Gulliver's Travels* had turned into a popular and a children's book<sup>75</sup>. The subtitles of the editions published by Treves, Paravia and Carrara claim that these are specifically targeted to young readers<sup>76</sup>. Sonzogno's 1868 edition is presented as an "illustrated almanac", a type of publication typically targeted at a broad popular audience (see for example Palazzolo, 1997, p.15). The title of Cairo's 1887 edition mentions only the voyage to Lilliput, thus suggesting that this publication was also intended for readers with scarce financial resources and/or with limited reading and comprehending abilities.

The exploration of the publishing and reading trends in the second half of the nineteenth-century will clarify the relation between the broadening of the Italian readership and the increase of the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels*.

### 3.8 The triumph of popular publishing

Throughout the eighteenth century, when the lower classes were largely excluded from the social and cultural sphere, popular publishing constituted a very marginal business. Unlike the members of the privileged and educated elite, the lower classes had at their disposal only a limited range of publications. These included lives of saints and monarchs, booklets of prayers, almanacs and novelettes (see Balduino, 1990, p.529; Palazzolo, 1997, p.15).

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<sup>75</sup> The transformation of *Gulliver's Travels* into a children's book began in Britain one century earlier. As we will see in Chapter Four, the first editions specifically addressed to child readers appeared in London in the 1770s.

<sup>76</sup> The three editions are respectively said to be "abbreviato ad uso dei fanciulli" [abridged for the use of children] "ad uso degli studenti la lingua inglese" [for the use of students of the English language – 'la' is presumably a misprint for 'della'] and "narrata ai giovinetti" [narrated to children].

As the middle and lower classes gained social weight in the first half of the nineteenth century, popular literature gradually gained visibility within the literary polysystem and in the publishing industry. I have already pointed out that in the 1820s innovative publishers like Giuseppe Pomba, Giovanni Silvestri, Nicolò Brettoni and Giovanni Pirotta (see section 3.5, footnote 60) made a great variety of works cheaply available by launching the first *biblioteche popolari* [popular libraries] and *biblioteche economiche* [low-cost libraries]. In the 1830s and 1840s the diffusion of the *biblioteche* was accompanied by a chaotic growth of popular periodicals, magazines, pamphlets and almanacs (Palazzolo, 1997, p.49). By the end of the 1840s popular publishing had become a successful and remunerative sector of the publishing industry. This expansion continued into the 1850s, when, as Iolanda Palazzolo points out, only the publishers who effected “a profound reconversion of the production by experimenting mass market products” (1997, p.49, my translation) could remain competitive in the industry<sup>77</sup>. In the 1860s the volume of publications continued to soar (Santoro, 1994, p.289; Chemello, 1997, p.167) largely as a result of the cultural policy which was adopted in united Italy.

The end of Austrian rule and the proclamation of Italy as a united kingdom were officially announced in 1861. After political and economic unification, the newly formed government was faced with the challenge of creating a national culture which would bring together the people of the ex regional states of the peninsula. Popular *biblioteche*, cheap editions and above all periodicals played a primary role in the realisation of this project.

According to Santoro (1994, p.281), in 1864 one hundred periodicals were published in Turin, eighty in Milan, fifty-one in Florence and thirty-seven in Genoa (1994, p.283)<sup>78</sup>. The phenomenon of the periodical press became so widespread that it was feared that eventually “periodicals would murder the book” (Bacci, 2009, p.4, my translation)<sup>79</sup>. The Milanese publisher Edoardo Sonzogno showed that these fears were unfounded. Inspired by the popularity of the feuilleton in France, Sonzogno attempted to boost the sales of his daily paper *Il Secolo* (5 May 1866 - 30 March 1927) by

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<sup>77</sup> “solo chi attuerà una profonda riconversione produttiva, sperimentando nuovi prodotti di larga diffusione [...]”.

Santoro (1994) estimates that between 1840 and 1861 the production of publications addressed to a popular audience increased by fifty percent (p.289).

<sup>78</sup> The range of periodicals was highly differentiated. Some encouraged the discussion of contemporary political, social and ideological issues; others were aimed at informing, instructing and acculturating.

<sup>79</sup> “In quegli anni si diceva che il giornale avrebbe ucciso il libro”.

The Turinese publisher Pomba, who shared this fear, claimed that “The upper classes do not think about books, while the others do not have the time nor the taste to educate and amuse themselves. Periodicals absorb the time of the few who read with pleasure” (1872, p.11; in Marchetti, 1997, p.121, my translation).

combining political, literary and everyday-life news with serialised novels. Every day, *Il Secolo* proposed one extract from two works (Chemello, 1997, p.176), often by popular French authors like Victor Hugo, Eugène Sue and Alexandre Dumas (see Zaccaria, 1984, pp.19-20). The serialisations were frequently illustrated with attractive tables which represented the most salient moments of the narration. Sonzogno's initiative was extremely successful and soon the *romanzo d'appendice* or *romanzo a puntate* became a fashionable trend (Marchetti, 1997, p.127, Chemello, 1997, p.168). The popularity of the serialisations boosted the sale of the periodical as well as its readers' interest in novels. The literary works which appeared in *Il Secolo* were simultaneously sold in separate instalments and published in the volumes of the *Biblioteca romantica* [romantic library] (Marchetti, 1997, p.127), which was also launched in 1866. This was composed by three series – the *Biblioteca romantica economica* [inexpensive romantic library], the *Biblioteca romantica tascabile* [pocket romantic library], and the *Biblioteca romantica illustrata* [illustrated romantic library]. The volumes of the three *biblioteche* were sold at the cost of respectively 1 lira, 0.50 lire and between 1 and 6 lire (Zaccaria, 1984, p.20). Among the other *biblioteche* published by Sonzogno were the *Biblioteca del popolo* (1874) [popular library] and the *Biblioteca Universale* (1882) [universal library]. The *Biblioteca del popolo* had the twofold purpose of entertaining and promoting education among the popular classes (Zaccaria, 1984, p.21). It consisted of 64-page volumes sold at the modest cost of 0.15 lire each. The subjects covered by these little manuals was remarkably varied and ranged from agriculture, anatomy and personal hygiene to history, foreign languages and music. The *Biblioteca Universale* gathered many classic and modern, Italian and foreign renowned literary works. Among these was *Gulliver's Travels*.

In the 1870s popular publishing became a highly competitive business. Sonzogno's success inspired other leading publishers like the Roman Edoardo Perino and the Milanese Emilio Treves to specialise in the production of inexpensive, often illustrated publications for the popular audience. A growing number of smaller publishers followed their example. These included Serafino Muggiani, Giulio Bestetti, Carlo Simonetti, Ferdinando Garbini and Paolo Carrara in Milan and Gaspero Barbera, Le Monnier, Adriano Salani and Alessandro Paggi in Florence, (see Pallottino, 2010, p.235; Marchetti, 1997, pp.134-137). As a result of this competition, it often happened that multiple versions of the same work became available on the market. In the case of *Gulliver's Travels*, as we have seen, they were not targeted at the same audience. While some were addressed to the general audience, others were specifically designed for the

education and the entertainment of children, a section of the reading public which was growing at a quick pace.

### 3.9 The diversification of the reading public and the rise of children's literature

The expansion of the publishing industry and the significant broadening of the reading public in the 1860s and in the 1870s led to the increasing specialisation and sectorialisation of production (see for example Santoro, 1994, pp.301-302; Chemello, 1997, p.167). Publishers began to target categories of readers which had until then received scarce attention. Publications for women and factory workers became an increasingly safe investment<sup>80</sup>. However, in unified Italy, no publishing sector became as attractive and profitable as children's literature (Marchetti, 1997, p.241).

Children's books became the principal product of many publishing houses such as Paravia and Loescher in Turin, Antonio Vallardi, Giacomo Agnelli, Federico Trevisin in Milan, and Giulio Cesare Sansoni in Florence. Others, like UTET in Turin, Treves, Paolo Carrara and Ulrico Hoepli in Milan, Zanichelli in Bologna and Perino in Rome made children's literature an integral part of their business (see Turi, 2004, p.17; Marchetti, 1997, p.142; Pallottino, 2010, p.216). In the 1880s Sonzogno also dedicated some publications to young readers. However, these only took up a very small section of the total production of his publishing house.

The growth of children's literature was encouraged by the government's campaign for the general and homogeneous distribution of literacy, which, it was hoped, would favour the formation of a national culture (Brand & Pertile, 1996 p.459; Della Peruta, 2004, p.9). The campaign promoted the idea that education could redeem readers from moral decadence and intellectual inferiority (see Santoro, 1994, p.273) and encouraged

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<sup>80</sup> To women "eager to learn the basic rules of good manners of domestic and society life" ("pubblico femminile desideroso di apprendere le regole elementari del buon comportamento domestico e mondano", Marchetti, 1997, p.128) Sonzogno dedicated *I libri bijoux illustrati* [illustrated *bijou* books], available since 1872. Particularly in demand were illustrated magazines like *Margherita* (1886-1896), *L'Ultima Moda* [the latest fashion] (1886-1896) and *La moda illustrata* [the illustrated fashion] (1877-1879), which were published respectively by Treves, Perino and Garbini. Besides providing suggestions concerning domestic life and updates on the latest fashion, these magazines often included stories by well known women writers like 'Cordelia', 'Neera', 'Marchesa Colombi' and 'Emma' (Chemello, 1997, pp.185-187; Marchetti, 1997, p.131).

Factory workers constituted a popular target for Treves, Giacomo Agnelli, Utet and Gaspero Barbèra (Chemello, 1997, p.189; Ambrella, 2011, p.7). Publications intended for this particular audience largely consisted of series of manuals and novels which provided moral and ideological advice on how to become model workers. Examples include Ignazio Cantù's *Il Trionfo del lavoro* [the triumph of work] and Ignazio Scarabelli's *I padroni, gli operai e l'Internazionale* [employers, workers and the *Internazionale*] published by Agnelli in 1868 and in 1872. Other publications advised workers on how to improve their conditions such as in the case of the translations of Samuel Smiles' books and the works which they inspired (see Chemello, 1997, pp.189-190; Ambrella, 2011, p.8). The first of Smiles' works to be introduced in Italy was *Self Help* (1859), which was published by Treves in 1866 under the title *Chi si aiuta Dio l'aiuta* [God helps those who help themselves].

the production of educational readings aimed at the child's intellectual, moral and civil improvement (Della Peruta, 2004, p.9).

Pedagogic books addressed to young readers already circulated in the first decades of the nineteenth century. At that time, children were "equated to the masses" who had to be led on the straight path and educated according to the principles of sacrifice and work (Turi, 2004, pp.19-20; see also Santoro, 1994, p.273). Children's books were filled with examples of virtues like justice, morality, devotion to the country and to God, and obedience. Examples of vices, bad habits and immoral actions like theft, deceit, cruelty and violence were also present, but, as Santoro points out, these were unfailingly stigmatised and punished (1994, p.274).

During the 1860s many of these books, including the well known *Giannetto* (Parravicini, 1836), were reprinted and adopted as a model by several children's authors of the new generation (Santoro, 1994, p.273). Among these authors were Ida Baccini, author of *Memorie di un Pulcino* [memories of a chick] (1875) and Carlo Collodi, author of *Giannettino* (1877), *Minuzzolo* (1878) and later of the internationally celebrated *Le avventure di Pinocchio. Storia di un burattino* [the adventures of Pinocchio. Story of a puppet] (1883)<sup>81</sup>. Didactic and ideological tales were not the only publications available to young readers. The production of textbooks covering specific school subjects increased rapidly. The same can be said with regard to children's novels, which initially circulated exclusively in the form of translations, adaptations and reductions of works of the foreign literary tradition (Colin, 2002, pp.510-511; Palazzolo, 2004, p.73). Popular titles included *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Carroll, 1865), *Around the world in eighty days* (Verne, 1873), *Baron Munchhausen's Narrative of his Marvellous Travels and Campaigns in Russia* (Raspe, 1786), *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*. As showed in the table at the beginning of section 3.7, three editions of Swift's work were published respectively by Treves (1876), Paravia (1877) and Carrara (1890). The edition published by Perino in 1886 is also for children. This was included in the *Biblioteca Fantastica Illustrata* [illustrated fantastic library], which gathered forty works sold in issues characterised by the motto "le illustrazioni invogliano alla lettura" [illustrations make you want to read] (Bacci, 2009, p.4; Pallottino, 2010, p.230). The publication of Perino's edition of *Gulliver's Travels* was announced in one of his seven periodicals for children, the *Giornale illustrato per i*

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<sup>81</sup>These works were all published by the Florentine Felice Paggi, who is generally regarded as the first Italian publisher to have specialised in the publication of children's literature (see Marchetti, 1997, p.141; Turi, 2004, p.15-16).

*ragazzi* [illustrated journal for children]. Here, Swift's work was presented as a tale of "extraordinary and fantastic voyages of an irreverent philosopher who recounts the discoveries made in fictitious regions with the attraction of the supernatural" (1886, in Carrarini, 2004, p.113, my translation)<sup>82</sup>. This description suggests that in its transition into a children's book, *Gulliver's Travels* was stripped of its caustic satirical component to be reduced to a harmless fantastic adventure story.

While comparing novels conceived for adult readers with their nineteenth-century children's adaptations, Palazzolo identifies differences at both the paratextual and textual level (2004, p.75). Didactic prefaces and illustrations were strategically exploited by publishers of children's literature to guide their readers through the interpretation of the salient moments of the narration and emphasise their pedagogic relevance. Abridgment, linguistic simplification and censorship were the interventions most commonly applied to the text of the sources (Palazzolo, 2004, p.80). Children's adaptations were essentially *belles infidèles*, or, as Palazzolo prefers to call them, "testi senza padre" [texts without a father] (2004, p.73), in that, despite often displaying the name of the original author, they were considerably transformed by publishers, and translators/adaptors.

The parallel analysis of the Italian editions of *Gulliver's Travels* published between 1865 and 1890 will make it possible to establish the nature of the macro and micro shifts which turned Swift's work first into popular and then into a children's book. This will help clarify the role of refractions in widening the range of potential readers of works of literature and, hence, in increasing their chances of survival in the literary polysystem (see Chapter One, section 1.1).

### **3.10 The textual evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* between 1865 and 1890**

#### **3.10.1 Macro-level**

Of the nine editions only the one published by Treves is explicitly presented as a translation. The title page claims that the source is an English text but the identity of the translator is not revealed.

Swift's authorship is recognised in all editions except in that published by Cairo and in Carrara's "*Storia dei Viaggi di Gulliver*" [story of Gulliver's Travels], which is said to be "narrated by Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna". I suspect that the replacement of Swift's name with that of the rewriter was a strategic marketing move. The records in

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<sup>82</sup> "viaggi straordinari e fantastici di un filosofo burlone, che racconta le scoperte fatte in regioni ideali con l'attraenza del soprannaturale".

CLIO and COPAC SBN revealed that besides being a translator from French, English and German, Cavanna was also a prolific author of children's books, many of which were published by Carrara. The presence of her name on the title page would guarantee to parents and educators aware of the disturbing details contained in Swift's work, that Carrara's edition was suitable for young readers. In addition, Cavanna's name would potentially attract buyers who were already familiar with and fond of her works.

Five editions are provided with an introduction to Swift's life and/or work(s). In the editions published by Sonzogno, Treves, Paravia and Carrara, this precedes the actual narration; Perino places it at the end of the last installment. There is a clear difference between the biography in Sonzogno's edition, which, as we have seen, was addressed to a general adult readership, and those included in the children's versions of Treves, Paravia, Perino and Carrara. Their comparison gives an idea of how, in the second half of the nineteenth century, refraction in the form of prefatory critical commentary contributed to the conversion of *Gulliver's Travels* into a children's book.

Like the prefaces to the editions published by Borroni and Scotti and by Stella in 1840(-42), the biographical notice used by Sonzogno largely draws on Walter Scott's biography. However, it displays an aspect of Swift's personality which had until then been overlooked by Italian criticism. Swift is depicted as an eccentric, lunatic, cold, ruthless and cruel man whose "barbaro egoismo" [barbaric egoism] drove Vanessa and Stella, the women whom he is said to have loved, to premature deaths (1883, p.8). Swift's alleged impotence and natural predisposition to misanthropy are indicated as possible explanations for his odd behaviour. It is also maintained that Swift spent his last years as a lonely, unhappy man no longer in command of his mental faculties. These particulars, which were only just hinted at in Scott's generally contemplative biography (and omitted in the French and Italian editions of 1838 and 1840-42, see section 3.6.1), were ostentatiously paraded in Orrery's and Thackeray's attacks (see Chapter Two, section 2.1)<sup>83</sup>. The biographical notice published by Sonzogno suggests that Orrery's and Thackeray's influential views had eventually spread to Italy. However, rather than deeply affecting perception of Swift as it happened in France and in Britain, in Italy they were counterbalanced by Scott's milder criticism, which continued to prevail. Accordingly, rather than being perceived as an insulting and immoral work, *Gulliver's Travels* is described as "a masterpiece of spirit, of causticity, of fine irony, of pungent, lively and sharp philosophy, where he [Swift] exposes

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<sup>83</sup> Thackeray's essay began to circulate in Italy in a translation published by Daelli in *Gli Umoristi* [the humourists] (1865). To my knowledge no Italian version of Orrery's *Remarks* has ever been published.

sometimes by means of mockery, sometimes by means of fantasy, the infirmity of human nature” (1883, p.10, my translation)<sup>84</sup>. The preface also emphasises the suitability of Swift’s work for both children, who find in it “infinite pleasure” and for adults, “who draw entertainment from the author’s extremely cheerful follies and take interest in his pungent allusions” (p.10, my translation)<sup>85</sup>.

Scott’s biography was regularly used as a source to introduce *Gulliver’s Travels* not only to adult, but also to child readers.

Onorato Roux, the editor of Perino’s *Biblioteca fantastica illustrata* turns the information contained in Scott’s biography into to an entertaining, intriguing and didactic moral tale. The account of Swift’s life begins with the narration of how little Jonathan was mysteriously ‘kidnapped’ by his nurse. Some of the details concerning Swift’s childhood and youth provide the occasion to give moral lessons. When the author reports that young Swift used to keep a journal, for instance, he does not miss the chance to suggest that all children should take up this “buona abitudine” [good habit] (1886, p.220). Roux does not conceal that Swift was not a model student, that he was “insubordinato e attaccabrighe” [rebellious and a troublemaker] (p.220), that he had a predisposition to misanthropy (pp.219 and 220) and that he was the cause of the sufferings of two women (p.221). However, Swift’s defects and bad behaviour are absolved because, as Roux points out, they are the ineluctable implications of the lack of affection suffered by Swift when he was a boy (p.219).

Roux confers on his notice an emphatic and colloquial tone through the use of elements which are typical of children’s speech and of children’s stories (see for example Nacci, 2004, pp.364-365). These include diminutives (“il diletto *figliolino*” [dearest little boy], 1886, pp.219, my emphasis), the duplication and triplication of adjectives and verbal forms (“il piccolo Gionata crebbe *gracilino gracilino*” [little Jonathan grew very frail] pp.219, 220, my emphasis; “e lesse, lesse, e lesse” [and read, read, and read some more], p.223) and exclamations (“Che stranezza di affetto!” [what an odd affection!] p.219; “E come tutti credevano alle sue parole! Che cieca fiducia avevano in lui! [and how everyone believed his words! How blindly they trusted him!] p.222).

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<sup>84</sup> “capolavoro di spirito, di causticità, di fina ironia, di filosofia mordace, viva, acuta, dove fa spiccare sotto una forma, quando beffarda e quando fantastica, tutta la infermità della natura umana”.

<sup>85</sup> “Quale attrattiva di curiosità la lettura di questo libro non ha essa per i fanciulli, che vi trovano infinito diletto, e per gli uomini fatti che si divertono con le pazzie tanto rallegranti dell’autore, e che si interessano alle sue salate allusioni!”



Towards the end of the notice attention is drawn to *Gulliver's Travels*, the “capolavoro che lo [Swift] rese immortale” [masterpiece which made him immortal] (p.223). Rather than focusing on the content of the work, however, Roux prefers to linger on the mysterious circumstances in which the manuscript was delivered to Motte. At this stage, the notice becomes to all intents and purposes an intriguing crime story. The excerpt below gives a good idea of this stylistic contrivance.

Mentre quel buon uomo del libraio Motte se ne stava, una sera, pacificamente seduto davanti al suo banco, gli cadde qualcosa sotto il naso, con grande fracasso, come un proiettile d'ignota provenienza, un fascio di manoscritti. Rimessosi dalla sorpresa, dalla paura di un'aggressione notturna, riacceso il lume spentosi in quel momento, non ebbe nemmeno il tempo di pensare che quell'inaspettata esplosione di carte aveva avuto luogo, mentre una vettura passava di corsa davanti alla sua bottega. Vide subito quei manoscritti, però, e spinto dalla curiosità, li lesse – Lilliput? Dove sarà mai questo paese? – Si domandò, meravigliato, il libraio, e lesse, lesse, e lesse. – Lo darò alle stampe (ibid.)<sup>86</sup>.

The notices in the children's editions published by Treves and Paravia in 1876 and in 1877 are more conventional. The prefaces share many points starting from the fact that they also contain details drawn from Scott's biography. In both cases, Swift is portrayed as one of the most elegant, honest and lively English (sic) writers (1876, p.v; 1877, p.iv) and *Gulliver's Travels* as his best known and finest work (1876, p.vi; 1877, p.vi). Both Treves and D'Allario, the editor of Paravia's edition, explicitly present *Gulliver's Travels* as a satire which appeals to adults and children (1876, p.viii; 1877, p.v). The work's suitability for children is determined on the premise that it recounts an entertaining as well as moral story. The two editions claim that *Gulliver's Travels*, especially the voyages to Lilliput and to Brobdingnag, might at first appear as a fairy tale (1876, p.vii; 1877, p.vii) but, in actual fact, they are an allegory whose aim is to make us realise that we are imperfect beings (1876, p.vi; 1877 p.vii).

The view of *Gulliver's Travels* as a moral and didactic fairy tale is also promoted by the short preface (102 words) of Carrara's 1890 edition. Without making any reference to Swift's life, the adaptor Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna presents *Gulliver's Travels* as

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<sup>86</sup> One evening, while that good fellow Motte the publisher sat peacefully at his desk, something landed under his nose with a big thump, like a bullet from who knows where – a bundle of manuscript. Recovered from the shock and from the fright of a nocturnal assault, lit the candle that had just gone out, he didn't have the time to realise that, as that unexpected explosion of sheets went off, a coach whizzed by his workshop. He immediately flicked through the manuscript though and, driven by curiosity, he read it. – Lilliput? Where on earth is this place? – the publisher asked himself in wonder, and then read, read and read some more. - I will publish it (my translation).

an old book which is “poco conosciut[o] dalla gioventù” [little known among the youth] (1890, p.3). Her intention, she explains, is to produce a “compendiat[a] e [...] ringiovanit[a]” [abridged and [...] rejuvenated] version to make this ‘convincing’ and ‘entertaining’ satire (p.4) more attractive and accessible to children. Finally, Cavanna stresses the moral and entertaining functions of her work by quoting a verse from Dante’s *Inferno* (9.63). Her readers, she claims with confidence, will be able to “scoprire la verità e la saggezza sotto il velame delli versi strani dello Swift” [discover truth and wisdom *under the veil of Swift’s strange verses*] and that they “rideranno di cuore alle curiose avventure del povero Gulliver” [will laugh heartily at poor Gulliver’s curious adventures] (p.4).

The prefaces just analysed are symptomatic of the dichotomous perception of *Gulliver’s Travels* which gradually emerged in nineteenth-century Italy. Sonzogno presents his adult audience with a remarkable political and philosophical satire written by an eminent but bad-tempered author. On the other hand, Perino, Treves, Paravia and Carrara promise their young readers an edifying and entertaining fantastic adventure story.

I have previously pointed out that, according to Palazzolo (2004), prefaces are not the only paratextual element exploited by nineteenth-century publishers to adapt adults’ narratives into children’s books; illustrations play as an important part in this transition. Italian children’s editions of *Gulliver’s Travels* confirm Palazzolo’s view.

There are different ways in which illustrations contribute to the transplantation of Swift’s work into the world of fairy tales and children’s adventure stories. Characters are occasionally subject to metamorphoses, whereby they assume the guise of beings traditionally found in children’s literature. In Treves’ 1876 edition, for instance, one of the Lilliputian archers is turned into an elf-like creature (Fig.22), while the emperor resembles a king from a fairy tale (Fig.23).



Fig.22 An elf-like Lilliputian,  
Treves, p.1 (detail)



Fig.23 The Emperor of Lilliput,  
Treves, p.36 (detail)

Zohar Shavit's study of translation of children's literature (1986) shows that these substitutions do not occur only intersemiotically, but also interlingually. While examining a corpus of Hebrew translations of Swift's work for young readers, Shavit observes that translators tend to manipulate the verbal text "in terms of the fantasy model" (1986, p.117). For example, in the edition published by Jizreel in 1976, "the creatures of the original text become "*strange* creatures", the inhabitants become "*dwarfs* inhabiting the country", and "four of the inhabitants" become "four men of the native *dwarfs*" (in Shavit, 1986, p.117). Analysis of the micro-level will reveal whether the same trend applies to the Italian versions. In the meanwhile, let us proceed with the identification of the shifts which occur at the intersemiotic level.

In the illustrations included in the children's editions Gulliver is often represented as a boy rather than as the middle-aged man described by Swift (Fig.24 and Fig.25). It is likely that this rejuvenation is strategically exploited to create empathy and facilitate the identification between child readers and the 'hero' of the story.



Fig.24 Rejuvenated Gulliver,  
Treves, p.36 (detail)



Fig.25 Rejuvenated Gulliver,  
Carrara, frontispiece (detail)

Some illustrations reduce the tension and the dramatic force of the standard text. The distress and the pain suffered by Gulliver in captivity are visibly relieved, as showed by the amused and peaceful expression on his face in Treves and in Carrara's editions (Fig.26 and Fig.27).



Fig.26 Amused Gulliver,  
Treves, p.12 (detail)



Fig.27 Peaceful Gulliver,  
Carrara, betw. pp.16 and 17 (detail)

On the one hand illustrations contributed to the metamorphosis of *Gulliver's Travels* into a children's book and, thus, to the establishment of its dichotomous interpretation; on the other hand, they encouraged the formation of a nineteenth-century homogeneous perception of Swift's work. If we take into consideration all the Italian editions published between 1865 and 1890, we notice that, most of them, share a powerful intertextual bond which connects them with the 1840-42 translations. This bond consists of the presence of a common denominator - the illustrations produced by Grandville for the 1838 edition of Fournier and Furne and successively reproduced by Stella.

The frontispieces of Muggiani's 1874 two-volume edition contain two of Grandville's vignettes representing the iconic scenes of Lilliputians marching under Gulliver's legs (Voyage to Lilliput, Chapter III) (Fig.28) and the defeat of the Blefuscudian fleet (Voyage to Lilliput, Chapter V) (Fig.29).

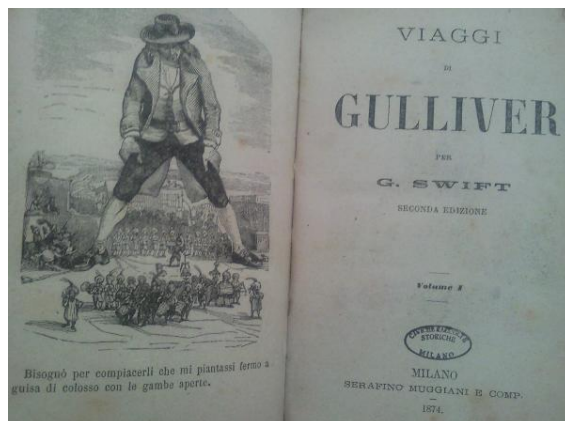


Fig.28 Frontispiece of Muggiani's edition, vol.I

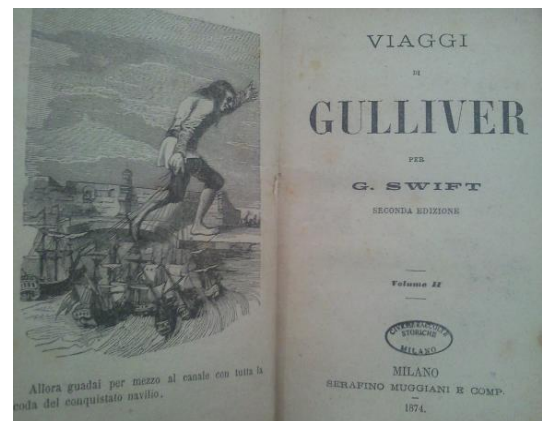


Fig.29 Frontispiece of Muggiani's edition, vol.II

Carrara distributes a more substantial number of Grandville's illustrations within the narration. The voyage to Lilliput retains fifteen of the seventy-four drawings which the French illustrator produced for this section of the book. The decorative pattern and the

illuminated letter on the first page of the preface (Fig.30) are also extrapolated from the pictorial apparatus of Fournier and Furne's and Stella's editions.



Fig.30 Preface with Grandville's illustrations in Carrara's edition

Sonzogno's 1868 almanac of the voyage to Laputa does not contain any of Grandville's illustrations in the original state. However, the representations of Gulliver's first sighting of Laputa (Fig.31, Fig.32) and the horrific experiment on a dog conducted in the Academy of Lagado (Fig.33, Fig.34) leave no doubt that these were used as a model.



Fig.31 Sighting of Laputa, Fournier and Furne, vol.II, p.11



Fig.32 Sighting of Laputa, Sonzogno, cover





Fig.33 Experiment on a dog,  
Fournier and Furne, vol.II, p.59



Fig.34 Experiment on a dog,  
Sonzogno, p.31

Gino De' Bini, the illustrator of Perino's 1886 edition, was also clearly inspired by Grandville's drawings. His representation of the extinction of the fire (Fig.36) is almost a mirror image of its model (Fig.35). The same can be said of his illustration of the macabre experiment to reconcile fighting political parties conducted by a Lagadian scientist (Fig.37, Fig.38).



Fig.35 Extinction of the Fire,  
Fournier & Furne, vol.I p.73



Fig.36 Extinction of the Fire,  
Perino, p.41

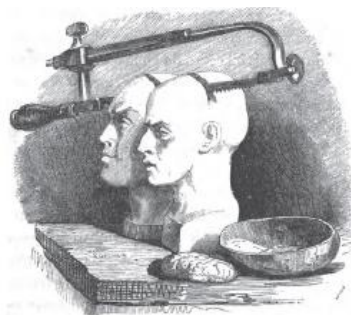


Fig.37 Experiment to reconcile political parties,  
Fournier & Furne, vol.II, p.73

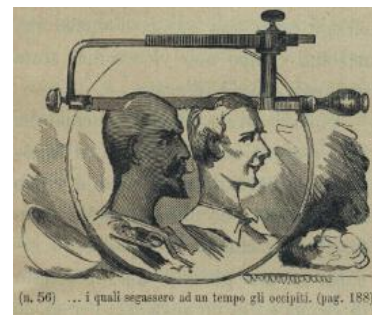


Fig.38 Experiment to reconcile political parties,  
Perino, p.193

Some similarities with Grandville's illustrations can also be found in the illustrations which represents the defeat of the Blefuscudian fleet in Treves' edition.



Fig.39 Defeat of the Blefuscudian fleet,  
Fournier & Furne, vol.I, p.68



Fig.40 Defeat of the Blefuscudian fleet,  
Treves, p.59

On the basis of what we have just observed, Grandville's illustrations can be seen as a thread which connects most of the nineteenth-century editions of *Gulliver's Travels* independently of whether these are intended for middle-class, lower-class or child readers. This connection is further reinforced by the fact that all nineteenth-century editions of Swift's work provided with a preface (with exception of Carrara's) adopt Scott's critical perspective. The repeated presence of Grandville's illustrations and Scott's commentary encouraged the emergence of a standardised perception of *Gulliver's Travels* as a prominent literary work suitable for a universal audience. We have seen, however, that alongside repetition, refractions always bring about some form of innovation. Grandville's drawings are often supplemented with other, more recent sets of illustrations. Carrara, for example integrates them with chromolithographs clearly addressed to child readers (see Fig.25 and Fig.27). The information extracted from Scott's biography is hardly ever a faithful reproduction of the original. As already mentioned, in Perino's edition, Swift's life is transformed into a didactic and moral adventure story. The new interpretations and refracting voices which build on and add to those of Grandville and Scott make each edition different from one another and contribute to the establishment of *Gulliver's Travels*' twofold status as a book for adults and a book for children. The editions published by Bestetti (1865) and by Cairo (1887), which are not introduced by any critical preface and contain original sets of illustrations further increase plurality of interpretations and voices through which Swift's work is refracted in the literary polysystem.

The transformation of *Gulliver's Travels* into a popular and a children's book is also reflected in the structural organisation of the actual text. Carrara's 1890 children's version is the only one to include all four voyages, although the voyages to Brobdingnag, Laputa and the country of the Houyhnhnms are visibly shorter than the voyage to Lilliput. The editions published by Bestetti (1865), Muggiani (1874) and

Perino (1886) contain the voyages to Lilliput, to Brobdingnag and to Laputa. Treves' edition (1876) also includes three parts, but the voyage to Laputa is omitted in favour of the voyage to the country of the Houyhnhnms. Sonzogno's version of 1883 comprises the voyages to Lilliput and to Brobdingnag, while the 1868 almanac includes only the voyage to Laputa. The editions of Paravia (1877) and of Cairo (1887) consist exclusively of the voyage to Lilliput.

All editions omit the original preface 'The Publisher to the Reader', the 'advertisement' and Gulliver's introductory letter to Sympson. The scheme of the chapter proposed by Swift is retained in all cases but in Bestetti's and in Carrara's versions. Bestetti dismembers the fourth chapter of the voyage to Lilliput into two parts and incorporates them into Chapters III and V. In Carrara's edition narration is continuous with no division into chapters.

The fact that all nine editions contain shortened versions of Swift's work might be indicative of the publishers' disposition to meet the requirements of a broad and varied readership not keen on reading or able to access the book in its standard form. The analysis of the micro level will reveal whether and how the target audience affects the composition of the text.

### 3.10.2 Micro-level

Two considerations immediately present themselves when comparing the texts of the nine versions of *Gulliver's Travels* published between 1865 and 1890. The first is that none of them is a direct interlingual translation. The second is that, according to the source text on which they are based, the nine editions can be classified into two groups. The editions published by Bestetti, Muggiani, Perino and Cairo are all versions of Barbieri's translation; those published by Treves, Sonzogno (both the almanac and the 1883 book) and Carrara are based on Desfontaines' version. These are all new translations and do not use the text of Borroni and Scotti's 1840 edition as a reference. The text of Paravia's school edition is in English. It closely reproduces the voyage to Lilliput of Faulkner's text except for some variations presumably aimed at making the text more appropriate for school use<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> In Chapter II, for instance, no mention is made of Gulliver's "urgency and shame" to discharge "his body of that uneasy load" (Swift, 1735, p.17). In Chapter V Gulliver extinguishes the fire at the emperor's palace with the water carried in his hat from a nearby lake (Swift, 1877, p.68). The retention of the original passages and their explicit references to bodily functions would clearly be deemed improper for a book which was specifically intended for educational purposes.



Year	Edition	Source
1865	Bestetti	Barbieri
1868	Sonzogno	Desfontaines
1874	Muggiani	Barbieri
1876	Treves	Desfontaines
1877	Paravia	Faulkner
1883	Sonzogno	Desfontaines
1886	Perino	Barbieri
1887	Cairo	Barbieri
1890	Carrara	Desfontaines

Table 25 Italian versions published between 1865 and 1890 and their sources

The analysis of the four passages of *A Voyage to Lilliput* will be carried out starting from the versions based on Desfontaines' translation.

The texts in Treves' 1876 and Sonzogno's 1883 editions are faithful and overall accurate renderings. As showed in the tables below, the relationship which they establish with their source is in many respects similar to the one existing between Marsecco's 1729 translation and The Hague version (see section 3.3.2).

Guerin, 1727	Treves, 1876	Sonzogno, 1883
pour moi, je nageai à la venture, & fus poussé vers la terre par le vent & la marée.	Quanto a me, nuotai alla ventura, e fui spinto verso terra dal vento e dalla marea;	quanto a me nuotai a caso, e fui spinto verso terra dal vento e dalla marea.
je laissai souvent tomber mes jambes, mais sans toucher le fonds.	cercai molte volte di toccar fondo, ma senza riuscirvi.	Lasciai spesso cadere le mie gambe, ma non potei toccare il fondo.
Enfin étant prêt de m'abandonner, je trouvai pié dans l'eau.	Finalmente, già vicino a lasciarmi andare toccai terra,	Finalmente, essendo vicino ad abbandonarmi, trovai di posare il piede.
Et alors la tempête étoit bien diminuée.	e intanto la tempesta era molto acquetata.	Allora la tempesta era assai diminuita.
Comme la pente étoit presque insensible, je marchai une demi lieuë dans la mer avant que j'eusse pris terre.	Siccome la china era quasi insensibile, camminai in mare per più d'un miglio prima di prender terra.	Siccome la salita era quasi insensibile, camminai una mezz'ora prima di raggiungere la terra.
Je fis environ un quart de lieuë, sans découvrir aucunes maisons ni aucuns vestiges d'habitants, quoique ce pais fut très-peuplé.	Feci circa un mezzo miglio senza scoprire nessuna casa né alcun vestigio di abitanti, quantunque quel paese fosse popolatissimo.	Feci circa un quarto di lega senza scoprire alcuna casa, né alcun vestigio di abitanti, quantunque quel paese fosse popolatissimo.
La fatigue, la chaleur, & une demi pinte d'eau-de-vie que j'avais bûë en abandonnant le Vaisseau; tout cela m'excita à dormir.	La fatica, il calore e una mezza pinta d'acquavite che aveva bevuto nel lasciare il vascello, tutto ciò mi spinse a dormire.	La fatica, il caldo, ed una mezza pinta d'acquavite che avevo bevuta abbandonando la nave, m'eccitarono al riposo ed al sonno.
Je me couchai sur l'herbe, qui étoit très-fine, où je fus bien-tôt enseveli dans un profond sommeil qui dura neuf heures.	Mi stesi sull'erba che era finissima, e ben presto fui immerso in un sonno profondo che durò nove ore.	Mi sdraiai sull'erba, che era finissima, ed in un momento fui seppellito in un profondo sonno che durò nove ore.

Table 26 Opening sentences of passage one in Desfontaines' translation and in Treves' and Sonzogno's editions

Guerin, 1727	Treves, 1876	Sonzogno, 1883
L'Empereur voulut un jour me donner le divertissement de quelque spectacle, en quoi ces peuples surpassent toutes les Nations que j'ai vûes, soit pour l'adresse, soit pour la magnificence:	L'imperatore volle un giorno divertirmi con qualche spettacolo, nella qual cosa quei popoli sorpassano tutte le nazioni da me viste, tanto per la maestria quanto per la splendidezza;	L'imperatore volle un giorno dammi il divertimento di qualche spettacolo, di quelli in cui questi popoli sorpassano le nazioni tutte che ho vedute, sia per la destrezza, sia per la magnificenza;
mais rien ne me divertit davantage, que lorsque je vis des Danseurs de corde voltiger sur un fil blanc bien mince, long deux pieds onze pouces.	ma nulla mi diverti più che il vedere certi danzatori di corda volteggiare sopra un filo bianco ben sottile e lungo novanta centimetri.	ma nulla mi divertì maggiormente dei ballerini di corda, che volteggiavano sopra un filo bianco sottilissimo, lungo due piedi e undici pollici
Ceux qui pratiquent cet exercice, son les personnes qui aspirent aux grands Emplois, & souhaitent de devenir les Favoris de la Cour:	Coloro che si danno a questo esercizio sono i personaggi che aspirano ai grandi impieghi e cercano di divenire i favoriti della corte:	Quelli che eseguiscano quest'esercizio, sono le persone che aspirano ai grandi impieghi, ed agognano di diventar favoriti alla corte.
ils sont pour cela formez dès leur jeunesse à ce noble exercice, qui convient sur-tout aux personnes de haute naissance.	a questo scopo vengono addestrati fin dalla gioventù a tale nobile esercizio, che conviene particolarmente alle persone di origine distinta.	Essi sono perciò addestrati fin dalla lor giovinezza a quel nobile esercizio, conveniente soprattutto alle persone di alta nascita.
Quand une grande Charge est vacante, soit par la mort de celui qui en étoit revêtu, soit par sa disgrâce (ce qui arrive très-souvent) cinq ou six prétendants à la Charge, presentent une requête à l'Empereur, pour avoir la permission de divertir Sa Majesté & sa Cour, d'une danse sur la corde; & celui qui saute le plus haute sans tomber, obtient la Charge.	Quando una grande carica rimane vacante sia per la morte di chi la copriva, sia per la sua disgrazia (cosa che succede molto frequentemente), cinque o sei pretendenti alla carica presentano una supplica a Sua Maestà e alla sua corte per essere ammessi a ballar sulla corda: e quegli che salta più in alto, senza cadere, ottiene la carica.	Quando una gran carica è vacante, sia per la morte di quello che ne è rivestito, sia per la sua caduta in disgrazia (ciò che succede spessissimo) cinque o sei pretendenti a questa carica, presentano una istanza all'imperatore, per avere il permesso di divertir Sua Maestà e la sua corte con una danza sulla corda; e colui che salta più in alto senza cadere, ottiene l'impiego.

Table 27 Opening sentences of passage two  
in Desfontaines' translation and in Treves' and Sonzogno's editions

Guerin, 1727	Treves, 1876	Sonzogno, 1883
Il commença par me faire des compliments sur ma liberté, & me dit qu'il pouvoit se flâter d'y avoir un peu contribué;	Cominciò a congratularsi meco per la mia libertà, e mi disse che si lusingava di avervi contribuito;	Incominciò dal farmi i complimenti sulla mia libertà, e mi disse che poteva lusingarsi d'avervi un po' contribuito.
puis il ajoûta que sans l'interêt que la Cour y avoit, je ne l'eusse pas si-tôt obtenué.	indi aggiunse che, senza l'interesse che a ciò spingeva la corte, non l'avrei ottenuta tanto presto.	Poi aggiunse, che, senza l'interesse che la corte vi aveva, non l'avrei ottenuta tanto presto.
Car, dit-il, quelque florissant que nôtre Etat paroisse aux Etrangers, nous avons deux grands fleaux à combattre; une faction puissante au-dedans, & au dehors l'invasion dont nous sommes menacés par un ennemi formidable.	«Giacchè, disse, quantunque il nostro Stato paia agli stranieri tanto florido, abbiamo due grandi piaghe da combattere: una fazione potente all'interno, e all'esterno un'invasione di cui ci minaccia un formidabile nemico.	«perchè, aggiunse, quantunque il nostro Stato sembri fiorente agli stranieri abbiamo due grandi flagelli da combattere; una fazione potente all'interno, ed una invasione di cui siamo minacciati da un nemico formidabile esterno.
Al'égard du premier, il faut que vous sçachiés que depuis plus de soixante & dix Lunes, il y a eu deux partis opposez dans cet Empire, sous les noms de <i>Tramecksan</i> & <i>Slamecksan</i> , termes empruntez des <i>hauts</i> & <i>bas talons</i> de leurs souliers, par lesquels ils se distinguent.	Quanto alla prima, dovete sapere che da settanta lune esistono in quest'impero due fazioni opposte, che hanno i nomi di <i>tramecksan</i> e <i>slamecksan</i> , termini presi dagli <i>alti</i> e <i>bassi</i> calcagni delle loro scarpe, coi quali si distinguono.	Riguardo al primo, fa d'uopo sappiate che da più di settanta lune, vi sono due partiti opposti in questo impero, sotto i nomi di <i>Tramecksan</i> e <i>Slamecksan</i> , termini presi a prestito dagli <i>alti</i> e <i>bassi tacchi</i> delle loro scarpe, dai quali si distinguono.
On prétend, il est vrai, que les <i>hauts talons</i> sont les plus conformes à nôtre ancienne constitution;	Si pretende, è vero, che gli <i>alti</i> siano i più conformi alla nostra antica costituzione,	Si pretende, è vero, che gli <i>alti tacchi</i> siano più conformi alla nostra antica costituzione;

Table 28 Opening sentences of passage three  
in Desfontaines' translation and in Treves' and Sonzogno's editions

Guerin, 1727	Sonzogno, 1883
J'eus alors occasion de rendre à Sa Majesté Imperiale un service très-signalé.	Ebbi allora l'occasione di rendere a sua maestà imperiale un segnalatissimo servizio.
Je fus un jour reveillé sur le minuit par les cris d'une foule de Peuple assemblée à la porte de mon Hôtel:	Io fui svegliato verso mezzanotte dalle gridi d'una folla di popolo adunato alla porta del mio palazzo.
J'entendis le mot <i>Burgum</i> repeté plusieurs fois.	Udii la parola <i>burgum</i> ripetuta parecchie volte.
Quelques-uns de la Cour de l'Empereur s'ouvrant un passage à travers la foule, me prièrent de venir incessamment au Palais, où l'appartement de l'Imperatrice étoit en feu par la faute d'une de des Dames, qui s'étoit endormie en lisant un Poème Blefuscudien.	Alcuni cortigiani dell'imperatore, aprendosi un passaggio attraverso la folla, mi pregarono di accorrere immediatamente a palazzo, dove l'imperatrice si era incendiata per colpa d'una dama d'onore addormentatasi leggendo un poema blefuscudiano.
Je me levai à l'instant, & me transportai au Palais avec assez de peine, sans néanmoins fouler personne aux piez.	Io mi alzai al momento e mi recai con molta difficoltà al palazzo reale, senza nondimeno pestar nessuno.
Je trouvai qu'on avait déjà appliqué des échelles aux murailles de l'appartement, & qu'on étoit bien fourni de sceaux; mais l'eau étoit assez éloignée.	Trovai che avevano appoggiato delle scale alle mura dell'appartamento, e già moltissime secchie erano state recate; ma l'acqua si trovava lontanissima.
Ces sceaux étoient environ de la grosseur d'un dé à coudre, & le pauvre Peuple en fournissoit avec toute la diligence qu'il pouvoit.	Queste secchie erano della grandezza d'un ditale da cucire, e il povero popolo ne dava quanto più ne poteva dare.

Table 29 Opening sentences of passage four  
in Desfontaines' translation and Sonzogno's edition

Like Marsecco's translation, the texts included in Treves' and in Sonzogno's editions differ from the source text due to the presence of minor changes mainly imposed by the morphological and grammatical differences between French and Italian. Amplifications and reductions are minor except in one case. In the children's edition published by Treves the passage concerning the extinction of the fire is omitted. This omission is probably due to the fact that it contains explicit references to urine and that these were deemed unsuitable for child readers. Apart from this omission, no other shift has been implemented with the specific intent to make the verbal text of Treves' edition more adequate for young readers.

The greatest differences which distinguish Sonzogno's version from Desfontaines' translation are substitutions apparently due to oversights. In passage one Gulliver is said to have walked on the shore of Lilliput for half an hour ("camminai una mezz'ora") instead of for half a league ("je marchai une demi lieuë"). In passage four, it is the Empress who catches fire ("l'imperatrice si era incendiata"), not her apartment ("l'appartement de l'Imperatrice étoit en feu").

For the composition of the text of Carrara's 1890 children's edition, Cavanna follows a significantly different translational approach as a result of which the source text is considerably reduced. The word count revealed that the number of words of the four passages dropped from respectively 806, 625, 874 and 610 to 377, 401, 454 and 345. Cavanna is very attentive to the needs of young readers and helps them to process the message of the source text by eliminating specifications and secondary information which might detract the attention from the most relevant parts of the plot. Her interventions have implications which go beyond the diminution of the length and of the prolixity of the source text. Let us compare the sequences which describe Gulliver's awakening and the attacks of the Lilliputians.

Motte, 1726	Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: For as I happen'd to lie on my Back, I found my Arms and Legs were strongly fastened on each side to the Ground; and my Hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner.	Je m'étois couché sur le dos: je trouvai mes bras & mes jambes attachez à la terre, de l'un & de l'autre côté, & mes cheveux attachez de la même manière:	Mi sentii legato in terra per tutte le membra e per i capelli, e nello stesso tempo udii a me d'intorno un confuso mormorio, che non sapevo spiegare a me stesso;
I likewise felt several slender Ligatures across my Body, from my Armpits to my Thighs.	je trouvai même plusieurs ligatures très-minces, qui entouroient mon corps depuis mes aisselles jusqu'à mes cuisses.	
I could only look upwards, the Sun began to grow hot, and the Light offended mine Eyes.	Je ne pouvois que regarder en haut, le Soleil commençoit à être fort chaud, & sa grande clarté bleissoit mes yeux.	e nella posizione alla quale ero obbligato, altro non potevo scorgere che la volta celeste, dalla quale pioveva un calore eccessivo.
I heard a confused Noise about me, but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the Sky.	J'entendis un bruit confus autour de moi, mais dans la posture où j'étois, je ne pouvois rien voir que le Soleil.	
In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left Leg, which advancing gently forward over my Breast, came almost up to my Chin;	Bien-tôt je sentis remuer quelque chose sur ma jambe gauche, & cette chose avançant doucement sur ma poitrine, monter presque jusqu'à mon menton.	Ben presto sentii che qualche cosa si movea sulla mia gamba sinistra e si avanzava sul mio petto avvicinandosi al mento.
when bending mine Eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human Creature not six Inches high, with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back.	Quel fut mon étonnement, lorsque j'aperçus une petite figure de créature humaine, haute tout au plus de six pouces, un arc & une flèche à la main, avec un carquois sur le dos!	Quale non fu la mia sorpresa, scorrendo una piccola creatura umana, alta sei pollici al più, munita di arco e turcasso pieno di frecce, e seguita da altre quaranta della stessa specie!
In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first.	J'en vis en même temps au moins quarante autres de la même espece.	

Table 30 Gulliver's awakening in Motte's 1726 edition and in Desfontaines' and Cavanna's translations

Motte, 1726	Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
I heard one of them cry aloud, <i>Tolgo Phonac</i> ; when in an Instant I felt above an hundred Arrows discharged on my left Hand, which pricked me like so many Needles;	Ce bruit cessant, j'entendis un d'eux s'écrier, <i>Tolgo Phonac</i> , & aussitôt je me sentis percé à la main gauche de plus de cent flèches, qui me piquoient comme autant d'aiguilles.	Poi a poco a poco il rumore veniva meno e la moltitudine s'ingrossava di nuovo, ed udii le parole <i>tolgo phonac</i> ! Tosto mi sentii colpito alla mano sinistra da più di cento frecce che mi pungevano come aghi,
and besides they shot another Flight into the Air, as we do Bombs in <i>Europe</i> ; whereof many, I suppose, fell on my Body, (though I felt them not) and some on my Face, which I immediately covered with my left Hand.	Ils firent ensuite une autre décharge en l'air, comme nous tirons des bombes en Europe, dont plusieurs, je crois, tomboient paraboliquement sur mon corps, quoique je ne les aperçusse pas, & d'autres sur mon visage, que je tâchai de couvrir avec ma main droite.	e ad ogni mio movimento le scariche si ripetevano.
When this Shower of Arrows was over, I felt a groaning with Grief and Pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another Volley larger than the first, and some of them attempted with Spears to stick me in the Sides; but, by good luck, I had on me a Buff Jerkin, which they could not pierce.	Quand cette grêle de flèches fut passée, je m'efforçai encore de me détacher, mais on fit alors une autre décharge lus grande que la première, & quelques-uns tâchoient de me percer de leur lances; mais par bonheur je portois une veste impenetrable de peau de Buffle.	

Table 31 The Lilliputians' attacks in Motte's 1726 edition and in Desfontaines' and Cavanna's translations

The omission of subsidiary particulars and specifications results in the acceleration of the narrative pace and in the weakening of the tension and of the dramatic force of the source text<sup>88</sup>. Both Swift and Desfontaines describe Gulliver's awakening and his first contact with the Lilliputian over a sequence of five sentences and in a crescendo of

<sup>88</sup> According to Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan (2002) acceleration in narrative "is produced by devoting a short segment of the text to a long period of the story" (pp.54-55). Deceleration, in contrast, is produced "by devoting a long segment of the text to a short period of the story" (p.55). Acceleration and deceleration are determined taking Genette's "constancy of pace" as a norm. This is defined as "the unchanged ratio between story-duration and textual length" (in Rimmon-Kenan p.54). Omissions are identified as the principal cause of acceleration and descriptions of deceleration (p.55). Rimmon-Kenan determines constancy of pace, acceleration and deceleration in relation to the same text. In the context of my study changes in the narrative pace are established in the light of the shifts which re-encode the source into the target text and using the narrative pace of the source text as the term of comparison. Accordingly, omissions of accessory and details like those observed in Cavanna's translation, are seen as accelerating the narration. Conversely, addition of purely descriptive passages or of disquisitions like those introduced by Desfontaines (see section 3.2), are seen as causing deceleration.

tension. Each sentence describes a single, independent act. Gulliver first realises that his arms, legs and hair are fastened to the ground, then he apprehends that the rest of his body is also made immobile by the strings, he hears confused whispers around him, he feels something moving on his body, he finally sees one of the Lilliputians. In the target text the same sequence is much concentrated and evolves so rapidly that it is practically free of tension. Similar considerations apply to the account of the repeated attacks to which Gulliver is subjected. Swift and Desfontaines describe the attacks in three dramatic stages. The Lilliputians firstly shoot a hail of arrows which pierce Gulliver's hand; a second volley of arrows is then directed to Gulliver's body. A third, more powerful shot follows while some of the Lilliputians try to prick Gulliver's sides with their spears. Cavanna's version retains only the first attack. The second and the third are dismissed in the clause "*e ad ogni mio movimento le scariche si ripetevano*" [and at any movement I made the showers were repeated], thus significantly diminishing the dramatic tension.

Another consequence of the predominance of reductive shifts is the neutralisation of the satirical and allegorical dimension, which is presumably of little interest to and out of the reach of child readers. The extract from passage three reproduced below abounds with clues which guide readers towards the association of the conflict between Lilliput and Blefuscu with the religious wars between Protestant England and Catholic France. "The books of the Big-Endians" are interpreted as an allusion to a series of Acts emanated after the Restoration to pressure Catholics and Dissenters holding government employments to convert to the Anglican Church (see Rivero, 2002, p.41).



Motte, 1726	Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
These civil Commotions were constantly fomented by the Monarchs of <i>Blefuscu</i> ; and when they were quelled, the Exiles always fled for Refuge to that Empire.	Ces dissensions intestines furent toujours fomentées par les Souverains de <i>Blefuscu</i> ; e quand les soulèvements furent réprimés, les coupables se réfugièrent dans cet Empire.	Gli imperatori di <i>Blefuscu</i> incitarono queste intestine discordie col rinfacciare ai nostri la loro ingiustizia, ed accolsero benignamente i trasgressori esiliati, della qual cosa i nostri giovani principi furono sì malcontenti, che da quel tempo siamo sempre in guerra.
It is computed, that eleven thousand Persons have, at several times, suffered Death, rather than submit to break their Eggs at the smaller End.	On suppose que onze mille hommes ont à différentes fois aimé mieux souffrir la mort, que de se soumettre à la loi de casser leur œufs par le petit bout.	
Many hundred large Volumes have been published upon this Controversy: But the Books of the <i>Big-Endians</i> have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendered incapable by Law of holding Employments.	Plusieurs centaines de gros Volumes ont été écrits & publiés sur cette matière; mais les livres des <i>Gros-Boutiens</i> ont été défendus depuis long-tems, & tout leur parti a été déclaré par les Loix incapable de posséder des Charges.	
During the Course of these Troubles, the Emperors of <i>Blefuscu</i> did frequently expostulate by their Embassadors, accusing us of making a Schism in Religion, by offending against a fundamental Doctrine of our great Prophet <i>Lustrog</i> , in the fifty-fourth Chapter of the <i>Brundrecal</i> , (which is their <i>Alcoran</i> .)	Pendant la fuite continuelle de ces troubles, les Empereurs de <i>Blefuscu</i> ont souvent fait des remontrances par leurs Ambassadeurs, nous accusant de faire un crime, en violant un précepte fondamental de notre grand Prophète <i>Lustrog</i> , dans le 54. Chapitre du <i>Brundrecal</i> ; (ce qui est leur <i>Alcoran</i> .)	
This, however, is thought to be a meer Strain upon the Text: For the Words are these; <i>That all true Believers shall break their Eggs at the convenient End</i> : and which seems the convenient End, seems, in my Humble Opinion, to be left to every Man's Conscience, or at least in the power of the chief Magistrate to determine.	cependant cela a été jugé n'être qu'une Interpretation du sens du texte, dont voici les mots: <i>Que tous les Fideles casseront leurs œufs au bout le plus commode</i> : on doit à mon avis laisser décider à la conscience de chacun, quel est le bout le plus commode; ou au moins, c'est à l'autorité du Souverain Magistrat d'en décider.	
Now the <i>Big-Indian</i> Exiles have found so much Credit in the Emperor of <i>Blefuscu's</i> Court; and so much private Assistance and Encouragement from their Party here at home, that a bloody War hath been carried on between the two Empires for six and thirty Moons with various Success;	Or les <i>Gros-Boutiens</i> exilés ont trouvé tant de credit dans la Cour de l'Empereur de <i>Blefuscu</i> , & tant de secours & d'appui dans notre pais même, qu'une guerre très-sanglante a régné entre les deux Empires pendant trente-six Lunes à ce sujet, avec differens succès.	

Table 32 The religious wars in Motte's 1726 edition and in Desfontaines' and Cavanna's translations

Desfontaines translates the passage closely although “schism in religion” is replaced with the generic term “crime”. Cavanna condenses the information of the source into only one sentence devoid of any religious implication:

The emperors of *Blefuscu* encouraged these intestine disquiets by reproaching our people with their injustice, and by benevolently welcoming the exiled dissidents, with which behaviour young princes were so discontent that since then we have been at war.

Reduction frees the source text not only from complex satirical and allegorical meanings, but also from morally harmful details. Let us examine how Cavanna renders the sequence of the fire in passage four.

Motte, 1726	Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
The Case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable, and this magnificent Palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if, by a Presence of Mind, unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an Expedient.	L'Incendie commençoit à croître, & un Palais si magnifique auroit été infalliblement réduit en cendres, si par un presence d'esprit peu ordinaire, je ne me fusse tout à coup avisé d'un expedient.	Il magnifico palazzo sarebbe stato ridotto senza dubbio in cenere, se la mia presenza di spirito e la natura non mi avessero suggerito un espediente molto opportuno.
I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine, called <i>Glimigrim</i> , (the <i>Blefuscu</i> ians call it <i>Flunec</i> , but ours is esteemed the better sort) which is very diuretick.	Le soir precendent j'avois bû en grande abondance d'un vin blanc appellé <i>Glimigrim</i> , qui vient d'une Province de <i>Blefuscu</i> , & qui est très diuretique.	
By the luckiest Chance in the World, I had not discharged myself of any part of it.		
The Heat I had contracted by coming very near the Flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the Wine begin to operate by Urine; which I voided in such a Quantity, and applied so well to the proper Places, that in three Minutes the Fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble Pile, which had cost so many Ages in erecting, preserved from Destruction.	Je me mis donc à uriner en si grande abondance, & j'appliquai l'eau si à propos & si adroitement aux endroits convenables, qu'en trois minutes le feu fut tout-à-fait éteint, & que le reste de ce superbe édifice, qui avoit coûté des sommes immenses, fût preservé d'un fatal embrasement.	Il pericolo era imminente e la notte mi era favorevole: in tre minuti il fuoco fu spento del tutto senza che il mio procedere potesse offendere la morale, e per tal modo quel superbo edificio fu salvato dalle fiamme.
It was now Day-light, and I returned to my House, without waiting to congratulate with the Emperor; because, although I had done a very eminent piece of Service, yet I could not tell how his Majesty might resent the Manner by which I had performed it: For, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Capital in any Person, of what Quality soever, to make water within the Precincts of the Palace.	J'ignorais si l'Empereur me sçauroit gré du service que je veois de lui rendre; car par les Loix fondamentale de l'Empire, c'étoit un crime capital & digne de mort de faire de l'eau dans l'étendue du Palais Imperial:	Io ignoravo se l'imperatore mi sarebbe grato per il servizio che io gli aveva reso, perché, secondo le leggi fondamentali dell'Impero, lo spandere acqua nel recinto del palazzo imperiale era delitto punito con la morte.
But I was a little comforted by a Message from his Majesty, that he would give Orders to the Grand Justiciary for passing my Pardon in form; which, however, I could not obtain.	Mais je fus rassuré, lorsque j'appris que Sa Majesté avoit donné ordre au Grand Juge de m'expedier des Lettres de grace.	Ma mi rassicurai quando mi pervennero lettere di ringraziamento da parte di Sua Maestà.

Table 33 Extinction of the fire in Motte's 1726 edition and in Desfontaines' and Cavanna's translations

Instead of omitting the passage altogether, as happens in Treves' edition, Cavanna eliminates the references to urine present in Swift's text and retained by Desfontaines. The attention of the reader is immediately directed towards the crucial information of the passage - the fire was put out in three minutes ("in tre minuti il fuoco fu spento") thanks to a very prompt expedient ("un espediente molto opportuno"). The suppression of the many details present in the source is partially compensated with the specification that the method used by Gulliver to extinguish the fire did not offend morals ("senza che il mio procedere potesse offendere la morale"). In the following sentence Cavanna alludes to Gulliver's preoccupation for having broken a law which forbade *spreading water* within the precinct of the emperor's palace ("perché, secondo le leggi fondamentali dell'Impero, lo spandere acqua nel recinto del palazzo imperiale era delitto punito con la morte"). By doing so, she literally renders and at the same time neutralises the expression "faire de l'eau", which, in Desfontaines' version (and in Swift's), stands for 'to urinate'. This expression and the fact that the reader of Cavanna's translation is not aware that Gulliver drank plentifully of a very diuretic wine imply that the fire was actually extinguished with water. The innocuousness of Gulliver's expedient is reaffirmed in the sentence "[m]i rassicurai quando mi pervennero lettere di ringraziamento da parte di Sua Maestà" [I was reassured when I received letters of thanks from his majesty]. Cavanna's translation departs from both Swift's and Desfontaines' texts. Swift writes that although the emperor ordered the

Grand Justiciary to pass Gulliver's pardon in form, he did not obtain it. Desfontaines translates that the emperor ordered the Grand Judiciary to send letters of pardon without specifying whether Gulliver received them or not. It is difficult to determine whether the discrepancy introduced by Cavanna is intentional or is rather due to an oversight. The fact that Gulliver saved the emperor's palace using an expedient which, as stressed by Cavanna, is inoffensive, might justify the Emperor's decision to overlook that Gulliver broke the law. On the other hand, the proximity between the French 'grace' [pardon] and the Italian 'grazie' [thank] might suggest that the departure was originated by a calque. No matter the cause, the shift makes Gulliver's exploit appear more as a heroic feat than as a shameful act. Accordingly, readers are more likely to sympathise with rather than distance themselves from him.

The substantial reduction of the source text brings about the need of syntactic restructuring. Syntactic transposition makes it possible to patch up and reorder the information retained into a sentence so that it makes sense. The example below illustrates how Cavanna rearranges the information conveyed by four sentences of the source text into a single sentence.

Motte, 1726	Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
For, <i>said he</i> , as flourishing a Condition as we may appear to be in to Foreigners, we labour under two mighty Evils; a violent Faction at home, and the Danger of an Invasion by a most potent Enemy from abroad.	<b>Car, dit-il, quelque florissant que nôtre Etat paroisse aux Etrangers, nous avons deux grands fleaux à combattre; une faction puissante au-dedans, &amp; au dehors l'invasion dont nous sommes menacés par un ennemi formidable.</b>	Egli mi disse pure che non l'avrei ottenuta sì facilmente se la Corte non vi avesse avuto interesse, <b>perché, ei soggiunse, benché il nostro Stato sembri florido agli stranieri, esso ha due potenti nemici: l'uno interno, ed è una poderosa fazione, divisa in due contrari partiti da sessanta lune; l'altro esterno, ed è l'invasione di cui ci minaccia il vicino impero di Blefuscu, col quale abbiamo fatto la guerra per trentasei lune di seguito.</b>
As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy Moons past, there have been two struggling Parties in this Empire, under the Names of <i>Tramecksan</i> , and <i>Slamecksan</i> , from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. [...]	A l'égard du premier, il faut que vous sachiez que <b>depuis plus de soixante &amp; dix Lunes, il y a eu deux partis opposez dans cet Empire</b> , sous les noms de <i>Tramecksan</i> & <i>Slamecksan</i> , termes empruntez des <i>hauts &amp; bas talons</i> de leurs souliers, par lesquels ils se distinguent. [...]	
Now, in the midst of these intestine Disquiets, we are threatened with an Invasion from the Island of <i>Blefuscu</i> , which is the other great Empire of the Universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his Majesty. [...]	Or au milieu de ces dissensions intestines, <b>nous sommes menacés d'une invasion de la part de l'Île de Blefuscu</b> , qui est l'autre grand Empire de l' Univers, presque aussi grand & aussi puissant que celui-ci. [...]	
Which two mighty Powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate War for six and thirty Moons past.	<b>Ces deux formidable Puissances ont, comme j'allois vous dire, été engagés pendant trente-six lunes dans une guerre très-opiniâtre</b> dont voici le sujet.	

Table 34 Reduction, reordering and syntactic transposition in Cavanna's translation

The refractive function of Cavanna's translation is not performed only through the mediation of Desfontaines' version. There is evidence that Cavanna occasionally referred also to Barbieri's 1840-42 translation.

The two lengthy sentences which in the English standard text open passage four are completely ignored by Desfontaines. Cavanna restores the missing parts by reproducing almost word for word the sentences as they were translated by Barbieri in the 1840



edition. Cavanna's version differs from Barbieri's translation for the minor variations highlighted in the table below.

Motte 1726 / Faulkner 1735	Stella, 1842	Carrara 1890
The Reader may remember, that when I signed those Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, there were some which I disliked upon Account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme Necessity have forced me to submit.	Si ricorderà il lettore come allorquando <b>io mi sottoscrissi</b> agli articoli <b>condizionali</b> della riacquistata mia libertà, alcuni di questi mi <b>riuscissero</b> sgradevoli per la natura loro sì umiliante e servile, che ci volea soltanto la più invincibile necessità perché mi sottomettessi ad accettarli.	Si ricorderà il lettore, come, allorquando <b>io sottoscrissi</b> agli articoli <b>condizionati</b> della riacquistata mia libertà, alcuni di questi mi <b>riuscirono</b> sgradevoli per la natura loro sì umiliante e servile che ci volea soltanto la più invincibile necessità perché mi sottomettessi ad accettarli.
But being now a <i>Nardac</i> , of the highest Rank in that Empire, such Offices were looked upon as below my Dignity; and the Emperor (to do him Justice) never once mentioned them to me.	Ma appartenendo ora, come <i>nardac</i> , al più eccelso ordine dell'impero, cotali uffizi vennero riguardati <b>al di sotto</b> della mia dignità, e il sovrano stesso, devo rendergli questa giustizia, non mi motivò una sola volta obblighi di tal fatta.	Ma appartenendo ora come <i>nardac</i> , al più eccelso ordine dell'impero, cotali uffizi vennero riguardati <b>al disotto</b> della mia dignità, e il sovrano stesso, devo rendergli questa giustizia, non mi motivò una sola volta obblighi di tal fatta.

Table 35 Similarities between Barbieri's and Cavanna's translations

The fact that Cavanna uses Barbieri's rendition as a reference widens the network of intertextual relations on which her translation is constructed and connects it with the versions published by Bestetti (1865), Muggiani (1874), Perino (1886) and Cairo (1887). These subject Barbieri's version to different degrees of intralingual re-elaboration, thus determining its textual evolution. Bestetti's text draws directly on Barbieri's translation. The texts of Muggiani, Perino and Cairo refer to it both directly and indirectly in that they gradually incorporate some of the variations introduced in the editions which precede them. The relationship which connects the versions of Bestetti, Muggiani, Perino and Cairo to each other and to Barbieri's translation provides a further illustration of the process of chain reaction generated by refractions of the same work.

As for the text in Bestetti's edition, the majority of the interventions occur in passage one. From passage two the differences between the source and the target text begin to blur until they almost disappear in passage four.

Many interventions are mainly stylistic improvements involving changes in spelling or the substitution of the source item with a synonymous expression. Changes of this nature were observed in Marsecco's version as well as in the variations of Desfontaines' translation published by Treves (1876) and Sonzogno (1883).

Passage	Stella, 1842	Bestetti, 1865
1	Mi coricai dunque <b>su</b> l'erba <b>Io udivo</b> un confuso bisbiglio	Mi coricai dunque <b>sull'</b> erba <b>Udivo</b> un confuso bisbiglio
2	Niuno spettacolo mi ha divertito mai tanto siccome quello <b>de' loro</b> ballerini <b>su la</b> corda; essi eseguivano i loro salti e danze sopra un filo bianco dell'estensione circa di due piedi ed alto da terra dodici dita; sul quale argomento chiedo <b>all'indulgente lettore la permissione</b> di diffondermi un qualche poco.	Niuno spettacolo mi ha divertito maggiormente di quello <b>dei loro</b> ballerini <b>sulla</b> corda; essi eseguivano i loro salti e danze sopra un filo bianco dell'estensione circa di due piedi ed alto da terra dodici dita; sul quale argomento <b>chiedo al benevolo lettore il permesso</b> di diffondermi qualche poco.
3	<b>ciò che</b> lo fa parere zoppo quando cammina si accese una sanguinosissima guerra tra i due imperi, durata trentasei lune, ve l'ho detto, e con <b>variato</b> successo	<b>il che</b> lo fa parere zoppo quando cammina si accese una sanguinosissima guerra tra i due imperi, la quale durò trentasei lune, ve l'ho detto, e con <b>vario</b> successo
4	ove l'intero palazzo di sua maestà imperiale era in fiamme, <b>grazie alla</b> trascuraggine di una damigella d'onore Io aveva la sera innanzi bevuto in <b>grande</b> quantità di quel delizioso vino	ove l'intero palazzo di sua maestà imperiale era in fiamme, <b>per la</b> trascuraggine di una damigella d'onore Io aveva la sera innanzi bevuto in <b>grand</b> quantità di quel delizioso vino

Table 36 Minor interventions in Bestetti's version

The text in Bestetti's edition also contains examples of amplification, reduction, reordering and syntactic transposition. However, their effects are minimal and in no case do they affect the meaning of the source.

Stella, 1842	Bestetti, 1865
Mi coricai dunque sul'erba che era cortissima, pur fitta e soffice assai, ove diedi la più profonda dormita ch'io mi ricordi avere mai fatta in mia vita, e che ha ad essere durata circa nove ore, perché quando mi svegliai, cominciava appunto a vedersi il giorno.	Mi coricai dunque sull'erba che era cortissima, pur fitta e soffice assai, ove profondamente dormii circa nove ore, perché quando mi svegliai, spuntavano appunto i primi albori del giorno.

Table 37 Translational shifts in Bestetti's version

The source expressions “diedi la più profonda dormita” [I had the soundest sleep] and “che ha ad essere durata circa nove ore” (which must have lasted about nine hours) are reduced and replaced respectively with “profondamente dormii” [I slept sound by] and “circa nove ore” [about nine hours]. In the second case reduction is combined with syntactic transposition, with the result that one clause is eliminated. The relative clause “ch'io mi ricordi avere mai fatta in mia vita” [that I remember ever having had in my life] is omitted. The two clauses “cominciava appunto a vedersi il giorno” [the new day began to dawn] are amplified into “spuntavano appunto i primi albori del giorno” [there rose the first dawn of the day] and joined in a single clause through syntactic transposition.

The only divergence from Barbieri's translation is caused by the replacement, presumably accidental, of the temporal expression “da circa *settanta* lune” [for about seventy moons] with “da circa *sessanta* lune” [for about sixty moons] (passage three).

The versions published by Muggiani and by Perino are less interesting. The text of Muggiani's edition is an exact copy of Barbieri's translation except for some occasional minor editorial alterations. A small portion of these emendations first appeared in the edition published by Bestetti. These include the substitution of "sentii che il mio piede toccava terra" with "senti che il mio piede toccava la terra" and of "si diedero spaventati alla fuga" with "si diedero a spaventevole fuga" (in passage one).

Perino's version includes some of the alterations introduced by Muggiani and a new series of small changes aimed at improving the readability of the text. The most common interventions show a clear inclination to modernise the text from both the lexical and the grammatical point of view. Old-fashioned words are supplanted with more recent ones and obsolete spelling is improved, whereby 'leggitore' is replaced with 'lettore', 'capellatura' with 'capelli', 'avolo' with 'avo', 'permissione' with 'permesso'. The ending of the imperfect tense are modified so that 'era' 'avea' and 'faceano' become 'ero', 'avevo' and 'facevano'. Some interventions correct errors of various kinds. The change of 'fisare' into 'fissare' eliminates a spelling mistake; the substitution of 'mano destra' with 'mano sinistra' corrects a mistranslation; the replacement of "poi l'ho saputo dopo" with "questo l'ho saputo dopo" avoids a dull repetition.

The following table illustrates how Muggiani's and Perino's editions relate to Barbieri's text and to each other. The variations introduced by Muggiani are in bold; those introduced by Perino are underlined. The parts of Perino's edition which are in bold as well as underlined are also present in Muggiani's text.

Stella, 1842	Muggiani, 1874	Perino, 1886
Quanto a me, mi diedi a nuotare verso dove mi dirigeva la fortuna, e lasciandomi spingere dal vento e dalla marea, spesso volte mi sono lasciato andare le gambe all'inghiù, ma senza trovare mai fondo.	Quanto a me, mi diedi a nuotare verso dove mi dirigeva la fortuna, e lasciandomi spingere dal vento e dalla marea, spesso volte mi sono lasciato andare le gambe all'inghiù, ma senza trovare mai fondo.	Quanto a me, mi diedi a nuotare verso dove mi dirigeva la fortuna, e lasciandomi spingere dal vento e dalla marea, <u>spesso</u> mi sono lasciato <u>andare con le gambe all'inghiù, senza però trovare mai fondo.</u>
Sol quando fui quasi spedito, nè ero più abile ad aiutarmi da me in alcun modo, sentii che il mio piede toccava terra; e da quel momento la burrasca aveva cominciato a calmarsi tanto ch'io era padrone di tenercelo senza lasciarmi trasportare dai marosi.	Sol quando fui quasi spedito, nè <b>era</b> più abile ad aiutarmi da me in alcun modo, sentii che il mio piede <b>toccava la terra</b> ; e da quel momento la burrasca aveva cominciato a calmarsi, tanto ch'io era padrone di tenercelo senza lasciarmi trasportare dai marosi.	<u>Solo</u> quando fui quasi spedito, nè ero più abile ad aiutarmi da me in alcun modo, sentii che il mio piede toccava la terra; e, da quel momento, la burrasca aveva cominciato a calmarsi tanto ch'io <u>ero</u> padrone di <u>tenercelo fermo senza</u> lasciarmi trasportare dai marosi.
Il declivio della spiaggia era sì tenue che dovei camminare circa un miglio prima di raggiungerla, e quando ci fui, saranno state, secondo le mie congetture, le otto all'incirca della sera.	Il declivio della spiaggia era sì tenue, che dovei camminare circa un miglio prima di raggiungerla, e quando ci fui, saranno state, secondo le mie congetture, le otto all'incirca della sera.	Il declivio della spiaggia era <u>così tenue</u> , che dovei camminare circa un miglio prima di raggiungerla, e quando <u>vi fui</u> , saranno state, secondo le mie congetture, le otto all'incirca della sera.
Andai innanzi quasi un mezzo miglio senza scoprire alcun vestigio di abitanti o di case; o certo, se v'erano, non me ne accorsi, tanto la prostrazione assoluta del mio corpo m'avea ridotto a tristo partito.	Andai innanzi quasi un mezzo miglio senza scoprire alcun vestigio di abitanti o di case; o certo, se v'erano, non me ne accorsi, tanto la prostrazione assoluta del mio corpo m'avea ridotto a tristo partito.	Andai innanzi quasi un mezzo miglio senza scoprire alcun vestigio di abitanti o di case; o certo, se v'erano, non me ne accorsi, tanto la prostrazione assoluta del mio corpo <u>mi aveva</u> ridotto a tristo partito.
Alla stanchezza ed al caldo della stagione aggiungete che io avea in corpo quasi un boccale e mezzo d'acquavite, bevuta nel bastimento all'atto del licenziarmene, e crederete che tutte queste combinate circostanze mi resero molto prodive al sonno.	Alla stanchezza ed al caldo della stagione aggiungete che io <b>aveva</b> in corpo quasi un boccale e mezzo d'acquavite, bevuta nel bastimento all'atto del licenziarmene, e <b>capirete</b> che tutte queste combinate circostanze mi resero molto prodive al sonno.	Alla stanchezza ed al caldo della stagione aggiungete che avevo in corpo quasi un boccale e mezzo d'acquavite, bevuta nel bastimento all'atto del licenziarmene, e <u>capirete</u> che tutte queste <u>circostanze combinate</u> mi resero molto prodive al sonno.
Mi coricai dunque sull'erba che era cortissima, pur fitta e soffice assai, ove diedi la più profonda dormita ch'io mi ricordi avere mai fatta in mia vita, e che ha ad essere durata circa nove ore, perchè quando mi svegliai, cominciava appunto a vedersi il giorno.	Mi coricai dunque sull'erba che era cortissima, pur fitta e soffice assai, ove diedi la più profonda dormita ch'io mi ricordi avere mai fatta <b>in vita mia</b> , e che <b>deve essere</b> durata circa nove ore, perchè quando mi svegliai, cominciava appunto a vedersi il giorno.	Mi coricai, <u>quindi, sull'erba</u> che era cortissima, ma fitta e soffice assai, <u>e feci</u> la più profonda dormita <u>ch'io mi ricordi in vita mia</u> , e che <u>dovette essere</u> <u>durata</u> circa nove ore, perchè, quando mi svegliai, incominciava appunto a vedersi la luce del giorno.

Table 38 Variations of Barbieri's translation in Muggiani's and Perino's editions

Cairo's 1887 text is an abridgment of Perino's version. Like Cavanna, the adaptor of Cairo's edition omits a significant quantity of detail. However, there is a conspicuous difference between how the two rewriters treat the information retained. The comparison of the opening sentences of passages one and two shows that, once he or she had eliminated the parts deemed superfluous, the rewriter of Cairo's edition reproduced the text of Perino's edition almost word for word.

Perino, 1886	Cairo, 1887
<b>Quanto a me, mi diedi a nuotare verso dove mi dirigeva la fortuna, e lasciandomi spingere dal vento e dalla marea, spesso mi sono lasciato andare con le gambe all'ingiù, senza però trovare mai fondo.</b>	Quanto a me, mi diedi a nuotare verso dove mi dirigeva la fortuna, e spesso mi sono lasciato andare con le gambe all'ingiù.
<b>Solo quando fui quasi spedito, né ero più abile ad aiutarmi da me in alcun modo, sentii che il mio piede toccava la terra; e, da quel momento, la burrasca aveva cominciato a calmarsi tanto ch'io ero padrone di tenercelo fermo senza lasciarmi trasportare dai marosi.</b>	Solo quando fui quasi spedito, sentii che il mio piede toccava la terra, e la burrasca aveva cominciato a calmarsi.
<b>Il declivio della spiaggia era così tenue, che dovei camminare circa un miglio prima di raggiungerla, e quando vi fui, saranno state, secondo le mie congetture, le otto all'incirca della sera.</b>	Il declivio della spiaggia era così tenue, che dovei camminare circa un miglio prima di raggiungerla.
<b>Andai innanzi quasi un mezzo miglio senza scoprire alcun vestigio di abitanti o di case; o, certo, se v'erano, non me ne accorsi, tanto la prostrazione assoluta del mio corpo mi aveva ridotto a tristo partito.</b>	Andai innanzi quasi un mezzo miglio senza scoprire alcun vestigio di abitanti o di case; o, certo, se v'erano, non me ne accorsi.
<b>Alla stanchezza ed al caldo della stagione aggiungete che avevo in corpo quasi un boccale e mezzo d'acquavite, bevuta nel bastimento all'atto del licenziarmene, e capirete che tutte queste circostanze combinate mi resero molto prodive al sonno.</b>	Alla stanchezza della stagione aggiungete che avevo in corpo quasi un boccale e mezzo d'acquavite.

Table 39 Opening sentences of passage one in Cairo's edition

Perino, 1886	Cairo, 1887
<b>Un giorno venne voglia all'imperatore di farmi conoscere diversi fra gli spettacoli del paese, in che quegli abitanti superavano tutte le altre nazioni da me conosciute, sia per destrezza, sia per magnificenza.</b>	Un giorno venne voglia all'imperatore di farmi conoscere diversi fra gli spettacoli del paese.
<b>Niuno spettacolo mi ha divertito mai tanto siccome quello dei loro ballerini sulla corda: essi eseguivano i loro salti e le loro danze sopra un filo bianco dell'estensione circa di due piedi ed alto da terra dodici dita: sul quale argomento chiedo all'indulgente lettore il permesso di diffondermi un poco.</b>	Niuno spettacolo mi ha divertito mai tanto siccome quello dei loro ballerini sulla corda; essi eseguivano i loro salti e le loro danze sopra un filo bianco dell'estensione circa di due piedi ed alto da terra dodici dita.
<b>Questa bell'arte è solo professata da coloro che aspirano ad ottenere alte cariche e grandi favori dalla Corte.</b>	Questa bell'arte è solo professata da coloro che aspirano ad ottenere alte cariche a Corte.
<b>Sono ammaestrati nell'arte stessa sino dalla prima loro gioventù, né sempre hanno sortito nobili natali o liberale educazione.</b>	Sono ammaestrati nell'arte stessa sino dalla prima loro gioventù, e quando viene ad essere vacante un grande ufficio, cinque o sei candidati supplicano sua maestà di poter intertenere la Corte con un ballo sulla corda, e chi salta più alto senza cadere succede nella carica rimasta vacante.
<b>Quando viene ad essere vacante un grande ufficio, sia per morte o per disfavore incorso da chi lo sosteneva (e questo caso è frequente), cinque o sei candidati supplicano sua maestà di potere intertenere lui e la Corte con un ballo sulla corda, e chi salta più alto senza cadere succede nella carica rimasta vacante.</b>	

Table 40 Opening sentences of passage two in Cairo's edition

Now that the analysis of the micro-level is complete, let us recapitulate the steps which marked the textual evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* between 1865 and 1890.

The conversion of Swift's work from a book for the few into a book for the general popular audience and into a children's tale is the result of the progressive reworking of two sources, Desfontaines' 1727 *belle infidèle* and Barbieri's 1840(-42) translation. Rewriting, as we have seen, consists of a process of textual renovation which entails more or less transformative shifts.

The frequency of the shifts at the micro-textual level and the extension of their effects distinguish the versions of *Gulliver's Travels* published between 1865 and 1890 from one another, collocating them on a continuum at whose poles are Muggiani's 1874 edition and Carrara's 1890 children's adaptation (Fig.41).

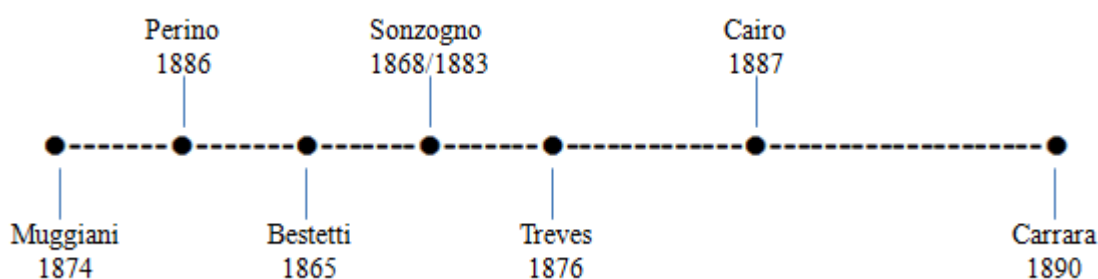


Fig.41 Italian editions, 1865-1890

The text of Muggiani's edition, as we have seen, differs from Barbieri's translation only in a small number of minor editorial changes. Perino's 1886 children's version contains a greater quantity of the same type of amendments. The text published by Bestetti (1865) is the only variation of Barbieri's translation to entail textual re-elaboration. This combines interventions primarily aimed at making the language contemporary with more transformative shifts which alter the source by means of amplification, reduction, reordering, syntactic transposition and the introduction of conceptual discrepancies. The shifts identified in Bestetti's text have also been detected in all the versions based on Desfontaines' rendering. As in the text of Bestetti's edition, in the versions published by Sonzogno in 1868 and 1883, the effects produced by the shifts are marginal. However, the greater frequency of interventions demanded by the presence of two languages, French and Italian, makes the distance between Sonzogno's version and its source greater than the distance which separates the text published by Bestetti from Barbieri's translation. This explains why Sonzogno's editions are positioned further along the continuum. Treves' 1876 children's version departs from Desfontaines' *belle infidèle* more significantly than Sonzogno's text for it omits the



whole sequence of the extinction of the fire. This shift, as I have already indicated, has direct consequences on the development of the plot. Situated at the approximate midpoint of the continuum, the text published by Treves creates a bridge between the versions positioned at its left, which transform the text of Swift's work slowly and gradually, and those positioned to its right, which entail more apparent changes. The texts in Cairo's and in Carrara's editions illustrate how far the evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* into a popular and a children's book had come in 1890. Unlike the rewriters of the versions which preceded them, the editor of Cairo's edition and Cavanna significantly manipulate their sources in order to make Swift's work more suitable for the needs of respectively a popular readership and children. In Cairo's 1887 edition the text of Barbieri's translation is considerably abridged and amended with the small stylistic alterations introduced by Bestetti, Muggiani and Perino. Cavanna's interlingual translation takes textual transformation a step further by frequently combining extensive reduction with other transformative shifts, primarily reordering and syntactic transposition.

The editions published between 1865 and 1890 considerably enlarged the range of forms and genres in which *Gulliver's Travels* was previously refracted within the Italian literary polysystem. We have seen that in the first half of the eighteenth century Swift's work reached the Italian readership through Marsecco's 1729 translation and through a limited series of imitative refractions which followed its publication. After 1750, the presence of *Gulliver's Travels* on the literary scene was largely confined to indirect critical remarks brought forth by discussion of Swift's personal and professional life. Interlingual translation and criticism operated synchronically. We should not forget that domestic critical discourse was greatly influenced by French and British sources and that these were primarily accessed via their Italian translations. From the 1840s the complementary relationship between translation and criticism grew stronger and extended to other types of reworkings in a process which earned *Gulliver's Travels* high literary profile and wide recognition. In 1840 Stella's edition brought together Barbieri's translation, Walter Scott's critical remarks and Grandville's illustrations enhancing the prestige of Swift's work. From the 1860s abridgments and adaptations promoted the translation of *Gulliver's Travels* into of popular and a children's book, thus helping it acquire the widespread appeal which it still has today.

The analysis conducted in this chapter provided a number of arguments to substantiate my view of the category of refractions as an integrated continuum of creative derivations. We have observed that in order to extend the accessibility of

Swift's work, refractions often operate synchronically and collaboratively, thus originating hybrids which can be read concurrently as interlingual translations, abridgments, adaptations, illustrated versions and critical editions. Hybridity is also determined by the combination of the intertextual relationships which refractions establish with the standard text(s) and the other reworkings of *Gulliver's Travels*, and the interpretations which they introduce to meet the requirements of the new target situation. The network of translations, abridgments, adaptations and illustrations becomes even more dense if we consider that as they subject the text of *Gulliver's Travels* to transformation and hybridization, they generate a collective process of translation through which Swift's work assumes new forms and meanings and becomes intelligible to new audiences. We have seen that the shifts which underpin this process share similarities independently of whether they occur within the same language or across different languages and semiotic dimensions. This encourages a perception of reworkings as an integrated ensemble of translational practices.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **The refraction of *Gulliver's Travels* in eighteenth-century Britain**

#### **4.1 The response of the British readership**

This chapter further reinforces the view of reworkings as translational phenomena while exploring the connection between the textual transformation and the popularity of Swift's work in eighteenth-century Britain.

In Britain *Gulliver's Travels* became popular and accessible to a wide audience significantly more rapidly than in Italy. This is understandable if we consider that it is essentially an English work written by an Anglo-Irish author in a literary form which was very attractive to eighteenth-century British readers. The fact that when the work was published Swift was already very well known in Britain as a satirist, pamphleteer and political activist, might be another reason why *Gulliver's Travels* attracted attention from a very early stage.

The publication of Motte's princeps edition of 28 October 1726 was an instant success. The correspondence between Swift and his friends Arbuthnot, Gay and Pope testifies that the book had already become a bestseller in the fortnight following publication. On 5 November 1726 Arbuthnot reported that "Gulliver was in everybody's hands" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.180). His comment was replicated eleven days later by Pope, who wrote that the book was "*publica trita manu*" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.181). On 17 November Gay pointed out that it "hath been the conversation of the whole town" and confirmed that "from the highest to the lowest, it is universally read, from the Cabinet-council to the Nursery" (*Corr.*, vol.III, p.182). Observations of this kind were not restricted to Swift's circle of friends. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu refers to Swift's work as to a book "that all our people of taste run mad about" (in Williams, 1970, p.65), while Samuel Johnson highlighted that "it was read by the high and the low, the learned and the illiterate" (1781, p.420). Parallels with other works well known to eighteenth-century readers were also common. Signor Corolini, for instance, proclaimed that "the Town [sic] are infinitely more eager after them than they were after *Robinson Crusoe* [...]" (1726, p.5). The anonymous author of *Gulliver Decypher'd* equated the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* with that of "*Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Seven Champions*, *Jack the Giant-killer*, and a few more" (1727, p.44).

The demand for the book was so high that, as Gay declared, "the whole impression sold in a week" (*Corr.*, III, p.182). The exact size of the print runs is not known. In



*Gulliver Decypher'd* (1727) we read that “several Thousands sold in a Week” (p.44). In the preface of his French translation the Abbé Desfontaines estimates that in three weeks 10,000 copies were sold in London (1727, p.22), while Paul Hunter hazards that by the end of December the copies sold exceeded 20,000 (2003, p.216).

The success of the first print run encouraged reprints and new editions. By 1731 eight new impressions of Swift’s work appeared in London. Five were published by Motte. These included the editions of November and December 1726, the 1727 ‘second edition’, and the ‘third edition’ published in early 1728 and re-issued in 1731 (Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.192)<sup>89</sup>. In late November 1726 two serialisations were printed in the periodicals *The Penny London Post* and *The Parker’s Penny Post* and in February 1727 Stone and King published the first abridgment. The London publications competed in the book market with five Dublin editions. Of these, one was issued by Hyde in 1726, two were published for Risk, Ewing and Smith in 1727 and two by Faulkner in 1735. By 1740 *Gulliver’s Travels* had become one of the bestselling fiction narratives alongside with *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim Progress* (1678), Fénelon’s *The Adventures of Telemachus* (1699), Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* (1605) and Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) (Mish, 1981, p.416).

The appearance of reprints and new editions was accompanied by the publication of a wide array of refractions including keys and commentaries (see Chapter Two, section 2.1), parodies, pictorial representations, imitations and sequels.

Parodies differed according to the literary form and the level of aggressiveness. Burlesques which emphasised scatological, obscene and sexual allusions were extremely common. On 26 August 1727 *The British Journal* advertised the imminent publication of a book by a certain Capt. Alexander Smith. The book is said to be “containing the true History of Lemuel Gulliver who falsely usurps the Name, Stile (sic) and Title, of Capt. Gulliver”. In the account provided by the advertisement Lemuel Gulliver is portrayed as a filthy Yahoo who has first acquired the “Use of Speech by calling his mother a B\_\_\_\_h, and bidding his Foster Father to go to the D\_\_\_\_l, to have given “the first Instance [...] of his Genius and Spirit [...] by sh\_\_\_\_g in his School-Master’s Slippers and to have stolen the neighbours (sic) hens and poisoned their dog<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>89</sup> Since the publication of Teerink and Scouten’s comprehensive *Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift* (1964), the editions published by Motte in October, November and December 1726 are generally referred to as respectively ‘A edition’, ‘AA edition’ and ‘B edition’ (Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.192).

<sup>90</sup> I have not found any evidence that such a book was actually ever published.

The same grotesqueness became the object of many visual representations. On 3 December 1726 a print was published with the lengthy title “The punishment inflicted on Lemuel Gulliver, by applying a Lilliputian Fire Engine to his Posteriors, for his urinal Profanation of the royal Palace of Mildendo which was intended as a Frontispiece to his first Volume, but omitted”. The print, made by the caricaturist William Hogarth, is identified by Halsband as the “very first pictorial illustration based on *Gulliver’s Travels*” (1985, p.84). This episode was also parodied in the first of the anonymous *Two Lilliputian Odes*, entitled *A Lilliputian Ode on the Engine with which Captain Gulliver extinguish’d the Flames in the Royal Palace*. As observed by Welcher the ode recalls in both form and content the first of Pope’s five poems on *Gulliver’s Travels* which also appeared in 1727 (1988, p.99)<sup>91</sup>. The most amusing and original of Pope’s compositions is the ballad in which Mary, Gulliver’s wife, expresses her sexual frustration and laments her neglect by her husband who prefers to be in his horses’ company<sup>92</sup>.

1727 saw the appearance of the earliest imitations. These included a spurious third volume of *Gulliver’s Travels* containing the anonymous *A Second Voyage to Brobdingnag*, *A Voyage to Sporunda*, and *A Voyage to Sevarambia* (Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.199). Another imitation, *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia*, was issued under the pseudonym Captain Samuel Brunt (Teerink and Scouten, 1964, p.245; Welcher, 1988, p.104).

Among the sequels inspired by Swift’s work are Arbuthnot’s *An Account of the State of Learning in the Empire of Lilliput* (1728) and *Memoirs of the Court of Lilliput* (1727), which is sometimes attributed to Eliza Haywood and to Swift (see English Short Title Catalogue). A translation of Desfontaines’ *Le Nouveau Gulliver* appeared in London in 1731 under the title *The Travels of Mr. John Gulliver, Son to Capt. Lemuel Gulliver*.

As refractions rapidly proliferated and took diverse forms, the popularity of *Gulliver’s Travels* began to resonate as an intertextual reference familiar to a wide readership. Elements of Swift’s narrative were often extrapolated from their context and transplanted into new settings. ‘Gulliver’ became a commonly adopted pseudonym. Between 1730 and 1731 six writings by ‘Martin Gulliver’ and one by ‘Martinus Gulliverianus’ appeared in Dublin (see Welcher, 1988, pp.144-147). Satirical authors

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<sup>91</sup> The first four poems were originally published separately and then prefixed to Motte’s 1727 octavo. The fifth was a later addition (see Rivero, 2002, p.277).

<sup>92</sup> The poem clearly alludes to Gulliver’s behavior after his return from the country of the Houyhnhnms. Unable to accept the Houyhnhnms’ verdict that he, as a human, is Yahoo-like, Gulliver resolves to live in the stable in the company of his horses rather than sharing the house with his family.

often borrowed Gulliver's name and hid behind his identity to criticise their targets. This is the case of *The Anatomist Dissected, or the Man-Midwife finely brought to Bed. Being an examination of Mr. St. Andre's short Narrative, touching the pretended Rabbit-Bearer. By Lemuel Gulliver, Surgeon and Anatomist to the Kings of Lilliput and Blefuscu; and Fellow of the Academy of Sciences in Balnibarbi* (1727). The object of derision is a medical study conducted by the Swiss physician Nathaniel St. André, *A Short Narrative of an Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbits* (1727). The study investigates the case of Mary Toft, a woman who convinced several doctors that she had given birth to rabbits. It is clear that the author of the satire shares Swift's hostility towards contemporary scientists (see Welcher, 1988, pp.72-73). Gulliverian features were also commonly displayed in the letters addressed to editors of popular newspapers. On 26 November 1726 *The London Journal* and *The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* published two letters respectively signed by "Hampshire Yahoo" and by Gulliver's alleged brother "Ephraim Gulliver" (Welcher, 1988, p.69). A further effect of the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* was the increasingly common usage of the terms 'Lilliput' and 'Lilliputian' (see Chapter Four, section 4.4).

## 4.2 The early popularisation of *Gulliver's Travels*: serialisations, abridgments and chapbooks

The refractions which closely followed Motte's first edition made *Gulliver's Travels* available in a variety of formats. These included inexpensive publications accessible to a broad general readership.

The early criticism and reviews included in section 4.1 give us to understand that Swift's work was enjoyed by a wide and differentiated readership as soon as it debuted on the British literary scene. However, the fact that Motte's edition was sold at eight shillings and six pence suggests that this was not the case and that the accessibility of *Gulliver's Travels* was initially restricted to a wealthy elite<sup>93</sup>. The process of popularisation actually began a few weeks later, with the appearance of two serialisations and the first abridgment.

These versions were specifically intended to extend the accessibility of the work to readers who could not afford Motte's volumes. On 25 November 1726 *The Penny London Post* announced the interruption of the serial publication of *Don Quixote*

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<sup>93</sup> The price of Motte's edition is indicated in the issue of *The Montly Catalogue* of October 1726 n.42 p.111. An idea of how restricted its intended audience was can be gained by considering that chapbooks, the most widespread form of popular literature available at that time, could be bought at the cost of one or two pence (see section 4.4).

to give Place for the Travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver into several remote Parts of the World, which have been lately published and bore so considerable a Share in almost every Conversation both in Town and Country, not only from the Reputation of their suppos'd Author, but the vast Variety of Wit and Pleasantry with which the several Relations are; that *those who have not Convenience of reading them at the Price they are now sold, may not be debarr'd so delightful an Entertainment* [...] (my emphasis)<sup>94</sup>.

Three days later the publishers of *Parker's Penny Post* communicated the same intention using almost the same explicit words.

The Travels of Capt. *Gulliver*, who was first a Surgeon, then a Captain of divers Ships, whereby he sail'd into several remote Parts of the World; which have been lately publish'd, having for their Variety of Wit and pleasant Diversion, become the general Entertainment of Town and Country, we will insert here in small Parcels, *to oblige our Customers, who are otherwise, not capable of reading them at the Price they are sold* (my emphasis).

In the opening paragraph of the preface of their 1727 abridgment, Stone and King, justified their decision to shorten Swift's work by claiming that

*the Original of Capt. Gulliver's Travels, is generally complain'd of, as too expensive, and may, without Injury to the celebrated Author, be reduced into a narrower Compass; [...]* (my emphasis).

The abridgment, as indicated in the issues of *The Daily Journal* and of *The Daily Post* published respectively on 1 and 2 February 1727, was sold at 3 shillings.

Although the two serialisations and Stone and King's abridgment considerably broadened the range of the potential readers of *Gulliver's Travels*, the book remained inaccessible to a large section of the population. As Ian Watt points out, "cottagers, paupers, labouring people and outservants [...] had little to spare for such luxuries as books and newspapers" (2000, p.41). It is unlikely that the lower classes gained direct access to *Gulliver's Travels* before the work started to circulate as a chapbook sold at the price of one penny or two. Archival research suggests that the earliest available chapbook version of *Gulliver's Travels* dates back to around 1750<sup>95</sup>. This, however, does not imply that other editions of this kind did not circulate in earlier years. There are a series of factors which make it impossible to determine when Swift's work began

<sup>94</sup> The announcement in *The Penny London Post* seems to confirm the hypothesis that the popularity of Swift, or "the Reputation of the "suppos'd author" contributed to the imminent success of *Gulliver's Travels*. In the opening of the preface to their abridgment, Stone and King also allude to Swift's reputation by defining him a "celebrated Author".

<sup>95</sup> In both the online catalogue of the British Library and ECCO the year 1750 is followed by a question mark. Like many other chapbooks, this edition of *Gulliver's Travels* does not contain any indication of the year of publication. An approximate date is generally estimated through photographic processes for studying paper, woodcuts and ornaments (Neuburg, 1968, p.22)

to circulate as a chapbook. First of all, chapbooks were rarely listed in inventories (Spufford, 1981, p.48) and the few records regarding their production and distribution have gone lost (Neuburg, 1968, p.22). Secondly, given their fragile constitution (Simons, 1998, p.4) and the fact that they were often issued unbound (Neuburg, 1968, p.6), many chapbooks are likely not to have survived.

The fact that *Gulliver's Travels* was an immediate success among its earliest readers is not the only reason why its popularisation took place at a much quicker pace than in Italy. The differences in the norms for the distribution of literature within the two countries might be another possible explanation. In Italy, as we have seen, the proposal to democratise the consumption of literature was first advanced in the nineteenth century, when the Romantic Movement began to have a visible influence on Italy's cultural life. However, the issue was seriously addressed only after the unification (see Chapter Three, section 3.5). In Britain, by contrast, the rise of a mass reading public and the popularisation of literary products originally conceived for the upper classes (see Rogers, 1985, p.162) were already in full swing throughout the eighteenth century.

In this context abridgments played a primary role in that, by making expensive and bulky bestsellers more affordable and portable, they bridged "the divide between high and popular literature" (Rogers, 1985, p.165). Besides *Gulliver's Travels*, the most frequently abridged works during the eighteenth century were Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* (1722) (Rogers, 1985, p.162; Davis, 2006, pp.432-433; Neuburg, 1977, p.108; O'Malley, 2011, p.18; Simons, 1998, p.6; Lerer, 2008, p.134)<sup>96</sup>.

Bestselling fictional narratives were not the only works to circulate in the form of abridgment. Scientific and legal treatises, philosophical dissertations and histories were also often shortened and simplified. The transactions of the Royal Society, Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), and Gilbert Burnet's *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1679-1714) are only some of the many examples.

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<sup>96</sup> A search across COPAC revealed the existence of at least three versified abridgments of *Pilgrim's Progress*. These were published in 1687, 1698 and 1706 respectively. A series of prose reductions followed. Thomas Cox published an abridgment of *Robinson Crusoe* only a few weeks after the appearance of the original (Rogers, 1985, p.168). In 1722 the first part and its two lesser known sequels were compressed in a duodecimo edition of 376 pages. The records in COPAC show that in the following thirty years this edition was re-issued six times. At least four abridgments of *Moll Flanders* were published between 1723 and 1790, some of which were reprinted several times with minor variations (see Rogers, 1985, pp.185, 189).

At a time when copyright had little force and “[n]either the law nor its exponents treated aesthetic originality as an ideal condition to which all writings should aspire” (Stern, 2009, p.69), abridgments were legally tolerated and socially encouraged.

In eighteenth-century England the protection of intellectual property was regulated by the Statute of Anne (1710) (see Stern 2009; Sag 2011), which forbade the verbatim reproduction of entire “books and other writing without the consent of [their] authors or proprietors”<sup>97</sup>. Like translations, revisions, imitations, and other kinds of derivative works, abridgments did not constitute any infringement of the copyright on the premise that they always involved some kind of creative re-elaboration (Stern, 2009, p.80; Sag, 2011, p.12). Abridgments were considered useful and served an important social function. They saved readers’ time (Stern, 2009, p.78) and greatly contributed to “the dissemination of scientific, technical and cultural knowledge” (Sag, 2011, p.14). The social utility of abridgment was strongly defended by the writer and critic Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) in the March 1739 issue of the *Gentlemen’s Magazine*. Johnson wrote that “every book, when it falls into the hands of the reader, is liable to be examined, confuted, censured, translated and abridged [...]” and that “all these liberties are allowed, and cannot be prohibited without manifest disadvantage to the publick [...]” (1823, p.36). Further on he added that

The design of an abridgement is, to benefit mankind by facilitating the attainment of knowledge and by contracting arguments, relations, or descriptions, into a narrow compass; to convey instruction in the easiest method, without fatiguing the attention, burdening the memory, or impairing the health of the student (1823, p.39).

Abridgments and derivative works in general also had some opponents. In *An Essay on the Regulation of the Press* (1704), Defoe, for instance, complained that

[...] as soon as a Book is publis’d by the Author, a rascally Fellow buys it, and immediately falls to work upon it, and it was a Book of a Crown, he will contract it so as to sell it for two Shillings, a Book of three Shillings for one Shilling, a Pamphlet of a Shilling, for 2 d. A Six-penny Book in a penny Sheet, and the like. This is down-right robbing on the High-way, or cutting a Purse, [...] is a Ruin to Trade, a Discouragement to Learning; and the Shame of a well mannag’d Government (pp.20- 21).

Abridgments which reproduced verbatim sections of the original work or consisted exclusively of minimal changes would occasionally be regarded as plagiarism and brought to the attention of the court. As Simon Stern points out, however, legal actions

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<sup>97</sup> A digitisation of the Statute is available at <http://www.copyrighthistory.com/anne.html>

were hardly ever taken and the defendants were generally acquitted on the ground that partial reproduction was not explicitly forbidden by the law (2009, p.77).

The fact that in eighteenth-century England the distribution of printed matter reached a wide audience and that abridgment was a very common practice help explain the rationale behind the almost immediate popularisation of *Gulliver's Travels*. But there are other possible explanations.

In order to be eligible for abridgment a work of literature had to possess certain characteristics which appealed to a wide audience. In the case of *Gulliver's Travels*, the consistent, overt references to British popular culture and to the reality of eighteenth-century everyday cultural life were undoubtedly a strong incentive for the production of its reductions.

When investigating the intertextual relationships which connect *Gulliver's Travels* to previous sources, parallels are traditionally made with fictional or genuine eighteenth-century travel narratives and to the works of canonised authors including Horace, Pliny, Lucian of Samosata, Rabelais, Thomas More and Cyrano de Bergerac (see Chapter Two, section 2.1). The correlation which Swift's work shares with popular folklore tales has often been overlooked despite having been acknowledged by some of Swift's contemporaries.

In 1728 Jonathan Smedley wondered how so many readers could "be led away by *Tom Thumbs* (sic) in a *Thimble*, and a *Fairy Giant* in a *Cowslip Cup*, which the Reverend Dean has invented for their Entertainment" (p.330). A Whig and "a violent enemy of Swift" (Williams, 1970, p.90), Smedley made this statement to support his definition of *Gulliver's Travels* as "the most monstrous thing that ever happen'd in the bookish World" (1728, p.330). Despite being impregnated with a profound hatred for Swift, Smedley's words imply an unbiased truth, namely that there is a close resemblance between Gulliver's adventures in the worlds of little men and giants and the stories of popular chapbook heroes such as Tom Thumb and Jack the Giant Killer. Only in the last twenty-five years has this resemblance begun to receive scholarly attention (see for example Welcher, 1988; Smedman, 1990; Preston, 1995).

On describing the analogies between Gulliver and Tom Thumb, M. Sarah Smedman observes that, like Tom, Gulliver

can be picked up by the middle between forefinger and thumb; just as Tom falls into his mother's pudding, Gulliver tumbles into a bowl of cream; both are attacked by animals, birds, and insects larger than themselves; from his perspective each finds the persons of court ladies physically offensive; King

Arthur gives Tom a gold ring, which he wears as a girdle, whereas the Brobdingnagian queen gives Gulliver one he wears as a collar. A “huge blacke Raven” carries off Tom while he is attempting “to scarre away crowes... with a cudgel made of a Barley straw”; Gulliver is snatched by “some Eagle [who] had got the Ring of my Box in his Beak” (1990, p.80).

Swift’s idea of a world inhabited by rational and virtuous horses and by the bestial human-like Yahoos evokes another popular tale, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Smedman, 1990, p.79; Preston, 1995, p.28). In this chapbook animals and men invert their roles whereby a dog plays a flute, a hog shoots a man, and, most significantly, horses play chess – a game, as Michael Preston clarifies, “considered most cerebral of human activities” (1995, p.29).

Jeanne K. Welcher (1988, p.46), Pat Rogers (1985, p.82) and Dennis Todd (1995, pp.140-148) observe that the voyage to Lilliput and the voyage to Brobdingnag are imbued with references to the popular culture and everyday life of eighteenth-century London and Dublin. Welcher and Todd emphasise that Swift often turned to street entertainment. During the first voyage Gulliver observes the Lilliputians perform rope dancing, which, according to Rogers, was “a favourite spectacle at this period” (1985, p.75). In Brobdingnag he is forced to perform in market fairs (Chapter II) and witnesses a public beheading (Chapter V). Todd draws a parallel between the politicians performing on a rope (Chapter III) and the rope-dancers whom Londoners applauded in Charing Cross (1995, p.143). He also compares the diversions performed by Gulliver at the courts of Lilliput and Brobdingnag to those regularly executed by giants and dwarves before the London crowds or the royalty (1995, pp.145-146).

Clearly, *Gulliver’s Travels* had a remarkable popular appeal. In its standard form, however, the popular component is mingled with and obscured by the complex combination of features which make Swift’s work a travel narrative, an adventure book and a political and philosophical satire. Interventions were therefore implemented in order to enhance the characteristics which would attract the interest of the popular audience. This process eventually resulted in the transformation of *Gulliver’s Travels* in a chapbook story similar to those included among Swift’s sources. Welcher reports that “by the middle of the century Gulliver’s association with folk figures was a common place” and that “Tom, Jack and Gulliver became virtually interchangeable” (1988, p.48). She then supports her statements by referring to two interesting examples. The first is a song from Kane O’Hara’s burletta *Midas* (1764) which combines Gulliverian and Tom Thumb references with other folk characters like pigmies and elves (Welcher, 1988, pp.48 and 271-272). The second is *The Liliputian [sic] History* (1800), in which



Tom Thumb is made King of the Lilliputians and defeats his enemy with the help of Jack the Giant Killer and the Lilliputian army. Welcher specifies that “Tom is celebrated in Lilliputian verse” and “Jack turns sea-captain” (1988, p.48).

#### 4.3 Stone and King’s 1727 edition: a ‘faithful’ abridgement?

The analysis of the edition published by Stone and King in 1727 shows how the process of popularisation of Swift’s work began.

##### 4.3.1 Macro-level

The 1727 abridgment preserves the title of Motte’s standard edition and, with it, the illusion that the work is an actual travel narrative recounted by a genuine “Capt. Lemuel Gulliver (sic)”<sup>98</sup>. The publication is explicitly presented as an abridgment, a ‘faithful’ abridgment to be precise. This specification suggests that interventions are limited to the suppression of trivial information, thus reassuring the readers that although they are presented with a reduction, they are not prevented from enjoying the story in its entirety.

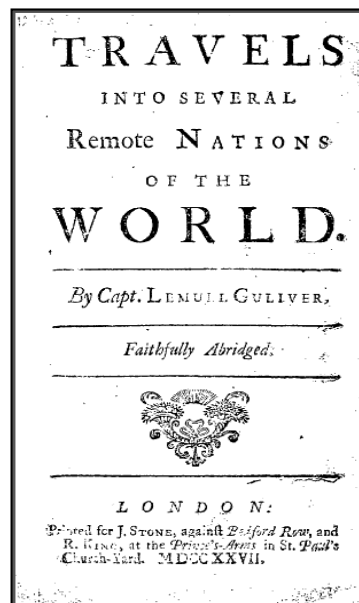


Fig.42 Title page of Stone and King’s abridgment

Not much is known about the two publishers, J. Stone and R. King. Neither of their names is included in Plomer, Bushnell and Dix’ comprehensive *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers* (1932). Rogers (1985, p.178) reports that they were “not exactly pillars of the book trade, but they were freed members of the Stationers’

<sup>98</sup> The fact that in the body of the text ‘Gulliver’ is spelt correctly, suggests that the spelling variation on the title page was due to a typographical oversight.

Company with a certain amount of reputation to lose”<sup>99</sup>. A look at the list of the publications issued by the two publishers allows for further considerations<sup>100</sup>. Stone offered a wide range of books which appealed to a broad, mainly popular audience. These included treatises, manuals on different subjects such as gardening and manual arts, romances, biographies and histories of royals, pirates and of peculiar characters like William Fuller, “the notorious English cheat” (1719?), collections of songs and carols. King catered for a more restricted, apparently more sophisticated readership. His publications consisted of political, moral and philosophical tracts, memoirs and different kinds of religious writings, for the most part sermons. The fact that some publications are in Latin confirms that the audience targeted by King included educated readers.

Stone and King provide their version of *Gulliver’s Travels* with a preface at the beginning of which, as already mentioned, the abridgment is presented as an affordable alternative to Motte’s standard edition (see section 4.2). Following this introduction, the publishers reiterate the claim made on the title page that their version is faithful to the original work and advance a few general considerations on the practice of abridgment. Stone and King claim that “Undertakings of this Nature [...] are frequently charg’d with depriving the Original of those Ornaments which recommend it to the Judicious; because many of them, through ill Management, have neither answered the Intention of the Author, or Satisfaction of the Reader”. Their abridgment, they continue, intends to answer the Ends of both”. These statements are of great interest as they imply that in the 1720s abridgment and translation were not related only from a legal point of view, but also in the discourse around them. As we have seen (section 4.2), the products of both practices were considered original works on the premise that they entail the textual elaboration of their sources rather than mere mechanical reproduction. Stone and King’s allegation that many abridgments failed to answer either “the Intention of the Author, or Satisfaction of the Reader” and that they intended to satisfy the “Ends of both” suggest that abridgers and translators were faced with similar dilemmas. Like translators, abridgers had to act strategically to create texts which were as close as possible to both their sources as well as to the needs of the new readership.

Despite claiming to have been faithful to both ends, Stone and King committed to the norms of translation prevailing at that time. Like Desfontaines, D’Ablancourt,

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<sup>99</sup> The Stationer’s Company, established in 1557, was a guild which gathered many publishers, printers and booksellers. Its main function was to guarantee the owner of the copy (usually the publisher or the printer) the exclusive right to print a work.

<sup>100</sup> The list was obtained consulting ECCO

Cowley and the other libertine translators active in the first half of the eighteenth century (see Chapter Three, section 3.2), Stone and King acted in accordance to what they deemed best for their readers. In a fashion which recalls the prefaces of many translations of the period, they admit that “some Passages in the Original, which the Generality of Mankind have thought immodest and indecent, are entirely omitted, and many trivial Circumstances contracted into a very narrow Compass”. Moreover, as translators commit themselves to make their target text read as naturally as possible, Stone and King declare that in the abridgment “Care has been taken to make the History as uniform and the Connexion as just and smooth, as the Nature of the Performance would allow”.

Stone and King’s attitude is symptomatic of how translation and abridgment were part of the same macro mechanism of textual re-creation through which cultural and literary products were made available and accessible to audiences broader than originally intended. The juxtaposition between translation and abridgment was determined by the fact that in eighteenth-century Britain both practices were equally expected to subject originals to processes of adaptation. Today, the perception of translation has dramatically changed and freedoms have come to be less and less tolerated (see for example Venuti, 2007, p.29). This, as discussed in Chapter One (section 1.2), led to the drawing of distinctions between translation and other more transformative practices of refraction.

Stone and King’s declaration that their abridgment is devoid of the immoral and trivial parts of the original might be interpreted as a twofold strategic move. On the one hand, it made the publication attractive to an audience different from that of the standard integral version, on the other hand, it helped discredit allegations of piracy. These allegations, as specified in the second half of the preface, had been advanced by Motte who, “having considered himself injur’d by the Undertaking, has made several Attempts to put a Stop to it, upon a wild Supposition that it was the very Copy, and not an Abridgment [...]”. In order to further support the legitimacy of their edition, Stone and King attach to the preface a list of abridgments published by “several considerable Men in the Bookselling Trade”. The list includes *The Philosophical Transactions from Year 1700 to Year 1720*, which was abridged by Motte himself. It is likely that this discouraged Motte from taking his complaints further, thus making it possible for Stone and King’s abridgments to remain on the market.

Turning our attention from the preface to the macro-structural organisation of the standard text, we notice that all chapters of the four voyages are retained. Each chapter

is introduced by the short synopses present in Motte's edition with some minor variations. These were supposedly introduced to support the claims that the abridgement was not a pirated copy. Below are the summaries of the first chapter of the first two voyages.

*The Author gives some Account of himself and Family, his first Inducements to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his Life, gets safe on shoar in the Country of Lilliput, is made a Prisoner, and carry'd up the Country.*

Fig.43 Synopsis of Chapter I,  
Motte, 1726, vol.I, p.1

*The Author's Relation of Himself and Family His first Inducements to Travel. After being Shipwreck'd, he swims for his Life; gets safe on Shore in the County of Lilliput. Made Prisoner, and carry'd up the Country*

Fig.44 Synopsis of Chapter I,  
Stone & King, p.1

*A great Storm describ'd, the long Boat sent to fetch Water, the Author goes with it to discover the Country. He is left on Shoar, is seiz'd by one of the Natives, and carry'd to a Farmer's House. His Reception there, with several Accidents that happen'd there. A Description of the Inhabitants.*

Fig.45 Synopsis of Chapter II,  
Motte, 1726, vol.I, p.1

*A Great Storm happen'd. The long Boat sent to fetch Water. The Author goes to discover the Country. Is left on Shore, and seiz'd by one of the Natives, and carry'd to a Farmer's House. His Reception: With several Accidents. A Description of the Inhabitants.*

Fig.46 Synopsis of Chapter II,  
Stone & King, p.75

The types of narrative and the internal narrative structure of the abridgment also closely match those of the standard text. The most obvious macro-difference which distinguishes the edition of Stone and King from that published by Motte concerns the length. While the standard text is distributed over two volumes of 312 and 354 pages, the abridgment consists of a single volume of 175 pages. Other visible differences are the omission of the prefatory notice "The Publisher to the Reader" and the absence of illustrations in the abridgment. It is likely that the decision to exclude Gulliver's portrait, the maps of the lands visited by Gulliver and the two tables of the voyage to Laputa was due to the necessity of limiting printing and selling costs.

#### 4.3.2 Micro-level

The juxtaposition of corresponding versions of *A Voyage to Lilliput* reveals that the compression of the source is carried out consistently. The drop in the word count of the passages (from 806, 625, 874 and 610 to 262, 302, 572 and 230 respectively) is mainly due to the omission of more or less lengthy sections of the source. In terms of the frequency and the intensity with which omission occurs, Stone and King's abridgment is reminiscent of Cavanna's 1890 interlingual translation. Both versions show a marked

tendency to eliminate details and verbose descriptions which support and contextualise the main incidents. Let us compare the first few lines of the first passage in the two versions.

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Stone &amp; King, 1727</b>
For my own Part, I swam where Fortune directed me, and was push'd forward by Wind and Tide.	but, as good Fortune would have it, as I was almost spent with swimming, I found myself within my Depth.
I often left my Legs drop, and could feel no bottom: But when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the Storm was much abated.	
The Declivity was so small, that I walked near a Mile before I got to the Shore, which I conjectur'd was about eight a Clock in the Evening.	I walk'd a Mile before I reach'd the Shore,
I then advanced forward near half a Mile, but could not discover any sign of Houses or Inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a Condition, that I did not observe them.	and then finding no Signs of Houses or Inhabitants,
I was extremely tired, and with that, and the Heat of the Weather, and about half a Pint of Brandy that I drank as I left the Ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep.	and being thoroughly fatigued,
I lay down on the Grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my life, and as I reckoned, above nine Hours; for when I awaked, it was just Day-light.	I slept on the Ground till next Morning: When I awaked,
I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: For as I happen'd to lie on my Back, I found my Arms and Legs were strongly fastened on each side to the Ground; and my Hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner.	I was surprised to find me self so fastened to the Ground that I could not rise.
I likewise felt several slender Ligatures across my Body, from my Armpits to my Thighs.	

Table 41 Opening sentences of passage one  
in Motte's 1726 edition and in Stone and King's abridgment

<b>Guerin, 1727</b>	<b>Carrara, 1890</b>
pour moi, je nageai à la venture, & fus poussé vers la terre par le vent & la marée:	quanto a me, nuotai per molto tempo alla ventura,
je laissai souvent tomber mes jambes, mais sans toucher le fonds.	
Enfin étant prêt de m'abandonner, je trouvai pié dans l'eau.	ed ero già in procinto di cedere alle onde, quando toccai il fondo.
Et alors la tempête étoit bien diminuée.	La tempesta aveva alquanto perduto del suo furore, ed il giorno volgeva al fine.
Comme la pente étoit presque insensible, je marchai une demi lieuë dans la mer avant que j'eusse pris terre.	Dopo aver camminato una mezza lega sopra un pendio pressochè insensibile, mi trovai sopra un terreno solido.
Je fis environ un quart de lieuë, sans découvrir aucunes maisons ni aucuns vestiges d'habitants, quoique ce país fut très-peuplé.	Procedetti per un quarto di lega senza scoprire vestigia di abitanti od abitazioni;
La fatigue, la chaleur, & une demi pinte d'eau-d-vie que j'avais bûë en abandonnant le Vaisseau; tout cela m'excita à dormir.	allora la fatica mi vinse;
Je me couchai sur l'herbe, qui étoit très-fine, où je fus bien-tôt enseveli dans un profond sommeil qui dura neuf heures.	mi coricai sulla molle e finissima erba e mi addormentai di un sonno profondo che durò nove ore.
Au bout de ce tems-là m'étant éveillé, j'essayai de me lever; mais ce fut en vain.	Svegliatomi, tentai di levarmi in piedi, ma era impossibile.
Je m'étois couché sur le dos: je trouvai mes bras & mes jambes attachez à la terre, de l'un & de l'autre côté, & mes cheveux attachez de la même manière:	Mi sentii legato in terra per tutte le membra e per i capelli
je trouvai même plusieurs ligatures très-minces, qui entouroient mon corps depuis mes aisselles jusqu'à mes cuisses.	

Table 42 Opening sentences of passage one  
in Desfontaines' translation and in Cavanna's children's version

Both Stone and King and Cavanna considerably help the reader to process the message of the source text by making sure that the most relevant parts of the plot arrive more promptly. We should bear in mind that Cavanna's translation and Stone and King's abridgment are addressed respectively to children and to a general adult audience who had inadequate skills or little time (Stern, 2009, p.78) to read bulky books or who were simply "too bored by excessive elaboration" (Rogers, 1985, p.171). Particulars which serve primarily for the contextualisation of the story, such as the specification that the weather was hot or that Gulliver drank brandy before leaving the ship, would be more likely to distract these categories of readers from the main focus of the story or to discourage them from embarking on the reading altogether. These conjectures are supported by Roger Chartier (1984), who generalised that in the eighteenth century semi-educated readers of the lower classes could not grasp "texts in their overall meaning" or understand "the hierarchical importance of themes" of elite texts. On the contrary, they would break "the text up into individual sections that acquire their own meaning", make "analogies out of fragments that [other] reader[s] would not have done", and take "metaphors at their face value" (p.234; in O'Malley, 2011, p.26). Similar considerations can probably be extended to the reading and interpreting abilities of school children. It was the responsibility of abridgers and

translators like Stone and King and Cavanna to understand in what hierarchy the information of the source is structured and to direct the readers' attention towards the facts which were most relevant for the development of the plot. In the sequence above these are

- Gulliver reaches the beach safely
- He falls asleep on what he believes to be a desert island
- He awakes
- He tries to rise but finds himself tied to the ground

Despite the fact that both Cavanna's translation and the English abridgment omit many details, the former tends to be more descriptive than the latter. While Cavanna specifies that by the time Gulliver reaches the shore the storm had diminished (*"la tempesta aveva alquanto perduto del suo furore"*), that the declivity of the beach was small (*"un pendio pressochè insensibile"*) and that the grass on which he falls asleep was soft and thin (*"mi coricai sulla molle e finissima erba"*), Stone and King reduce the narrative of the standard text to its bare bones. Cavanna generally retains a bigger proportion of the information of the source and sometimes even amplifies it. This is never the case for Stone and King. The section in which Gulliver is alerted to the fire at the emperor's palace provides a good example of how different the decisions made by Stone and King and by Cavanna can be.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
The Reader may remember, that when I signed those Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, there were some which I disliked upon account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme Necessity have forced me to submit.	
But being now a <i>Nardac</i> , of the highest Rank in that Empire, such Offices were looked upon as below my Dignity, and the Emperor (to do him Justice) never once mentioned them to me.	
However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I then thought, a most signal Service.	It was not long before I had an Opportunity of being useful to his Majesty, occasion'd by a Fire which broke out in her Imperial Majesty's Apartment, which was occasion'd thro' the Neglect of a Chambermaid.
I was alarmed at Midnight with the Cries of many Hundred People at my Door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of Terror.	I was alarmed at Midnight by the People, to come to their Assistance, who had already apply'd Ladders to the Walls of the Apartment, and were well provided with Buckets, but the Water was at some Distance.
I heard the Word <i>Burglum</i> repeated incessantly: several of the Emperor's Court making their Way through the Croud, intreated me to come immediately to the Palace, where her Imperial Majesty's Apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a Romance.	
I got up in an instant; and Orders being given to clear the Way before me, and it being likewise a Moon-shine Night, I made a shift to get to the Palace without trampling on any of the People.	
I found they had already applied Ladders to the Walls of the Apartment, and were well provided with Buckets, but the Water was at some distance.	

Tab.43 Treatment of descriptive details in Stone and King's abridgment

Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
	Si ricorderà il lettore, come, allorché io sottoscrissi agli articoli condizionati della riacquistata mia libertà, alcuni di questi mi riuscirono sgradevoli per la natura loro sì umiliante e servile che ci voleva soltanto la più invincibile necessità perché mi sottomettessi ad accettarli.
	Ma appartenendo ora come <i>nardac</i> , al più eccelso ordine dell'impero, cotali uffizi vennero riguardati al disotto della mia dignità, e il sovrano stesso, devo rendergli questa giustizia, non mi motivò una sola volta obblighi di tal fatta.
J'eus alors occasion de rendre à Sa Majesté Imperiale un service très-signalé.	Pure, pochi giorni dopo ebbi occasione di rendere altro importantissimo servizio all'Imperatore.
Je fus un jour réveillé sur le minuit par les cris d'une foule de Peuple assemblée à la porte de mon Hotel: J'entendis le mot <i>Burgum</i> répété plusieurs fois.	Fui svegliato a mezzanotte dalle grida di una moltitudine che assediava la porta della mia abitazione,
Quelques-uns de la Cour de l'Empereur s'ouvrant un passage à travers la foule, me prièrent de venir incessamment au Palais, où l'appartement de l'Imperatrice étoit en feu par la faute d'une de des Dames, qui s'étoit endormie en lisant un Poème Blefuscudien.	e vidi venirmi incontro alcune persone della Corte che mi pregavano di recarmi immediatamente al palazzo di Sua Maestà. L'appartamento dell'Imperatrice era in fiamme per l'inavvertenza di una delle sue dame di onore, la quale si era addormentata leggendo un poema Blefuscudiano.
Je me levai à l'instant, & me transportai au Palais avec assez de peine, sans néanmoins fouler personne aux piez.	Mi alzai tosto e mi recai al palazzo, non senza fatica, ma pure senza far male ad alcuno, né guastare le case.
Je trouvai qu'on avait déjà appliqué des échelles aux murailles de l'appartement, & qu'on étoit bien fourni de seaux; mais l'eau étoit assez éloignée.	Erano state applicate varie scale ai muri dell'appartamento ed erano pure state provvedute alcune secchie; ma l'acqua era lontana e l'incendio si dilatava in modo terribile.

Table 44 Treatment of descriptive details in Cavanna's children's version



As mentioned in Chapter Three (section 3.10.2), Cavanna amplifies the source by restoring the sentences omitted by Desfontaines. The narration proceeds at the same pace as in the source and the tension builds up gradually until Gulliver reaches the palace and witnesses with his own eyes the gravity of the situation. In Stone and King's abridgment, on the other hand, the passage is once again extremely succinct. The elimination of Gulliver's praise of his status as a Nardac clashes with the portrait of the naive and proud Gulliver provided by Swift. The cause of the agitation of the Lilliputians is revealed immediately by means of reordering, whereby the sentence which mentions that the empress' apartment is on fire is advanced (see parts in bold in Table 43). These interventions significantly accelerate the narrative pace and make the communication of essential information more effective and immediate.

Only in a few instances do Stone and King preserve more details than Cavanna. This happens primarily in sections which have a high satirical and allegorical significance such as in the case of Reldresal's description of the strife between Tramecksan and Slamecksan.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy Moons past, there have been two struggling Parties in this Empire, under the Names of <i>Tramecksan</i> , and <i>Slamecksan</i> , from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves.	As to the First, for Seventy Moons we have had contending Parties, under the Names of <i>Tramecksan</i> and <i>Slamecksan</i> , from the different Heighth of the Heels of their Shoes.
It is alledged indeed, that the high Heels are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution: But however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use of only low Heels in the Administration of the Government, and all Offices in the Gist of the Crown, as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's Imperial Heels are lower at least by a <i>Durr</i> than any of his Court; ( <i>Durr</i> is a Measure about the fourteenth Part of an Inch.)	It's said, that high Heels are the most agreeable to our ancient Constitution; but his Majesty admits only of low Heels in the Administration of Government, and the Offices of the Crown.  You may particularly observe that his Majesty's Imperial Heels are lower than the rest of the Court.
The Animositys between these two Partys run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other.	All Society between the Two Parties is lost by these Animositys;
We compute the <i>Tramecksan</i> , or High-Heels, to exceed us in Number; but the Power is wholly on our side.	tho' we have the Power, the high Heels exceed us in Number.

Table 45 The strife between Tramecksan and Slamecksan in Motte's 1726 edition and in Stone and King's abridgment

Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
A l'égard du premier, il faut que vous sçachiés que depuis plus de soixante & dix Lunes, il y a eu deux partis opposez dans cet Empire, sous les noms de <i>Tramecksan</i> & <i>Slamecksan</i> , termes empruntez des <i>hauts</i> & <i>bas talons</i> de leurs souliers, par lesquels ils se distinguent.	Quanto al primo, l'odio fra i due partiti è sì acerrimo, che essi né mangiano né bevono insieme e non si parlano nemmeno; <i>Tramecksan</i> o <i>Talloni alti</i> superano i loro avversari, detti <i>Slamecksan</i> o <i>Talloni Bassi</i> ;
On prétend, il est vrai, que les <i>hauts talons</i> sont les plus conformes à nôtre ancienne constitution;	
mais quoi qu'il en soit, Sa Majesté a resolu de ne se servir que des <i>bas talons</i> dans l'administration du Gouvernement, & dans toutes les Charges qui sont à la disposition de la Couronne: vous pouvez même remarquer, que les talons de sa Majesté Imperiale, sont plus bas au moins d'un <i>Durr</i> que ceux d'aucun de sa Cour.	ma Sua Maestà non lascia partecipare al governo se non questi ultimi, i quali perciò sono più potenti.
( <i>Durr</i> est environ la quatorzieme partie d'un pouce.)	
La haine des deux partis, continua-t-il, est à un tel degré, qu'ils ne mangent ni boivent ensemble, & qu'ils ne se parlent point.	

Table 46 The strife between Tramecksan and Slamecksan in Desfontaines' translation and in Cavanna children's version

In addition to the information conveyed by Cavanna, Stone and King specify that Lilliput has had contending parties for seventy moons, that the Tramecksan are most numerous and most agreeable to the constitution and that the Emperor's heels are lower than the rest of the court. All these details help detect the relations between real characters and groups of people - Tories, Whigs, King George I - and their fictional alter egos - Tramecksan, Slamecksan the emperor of Lilliput.

Similar observations can be advanced with regard to the account of the long-lasting war between Lilliput and Blefuscu.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
The People so highly resented this Law, that our Historys tell us there have been six Rebellions raised on that account; wherein one Emperor lost his Life, and another his Crown.	This Law was so resented by the People, that Six Rebellions have been rais'd on that Account, in which one Emperor has lost his Life, and another his Crown.
These civil Commotions were constantly fomented by the Monarchs of <i>Blefuscu</i> ; and when they were quelled, the Exiles always fled for Refuge to that Empire.	These Commotions have always been fomented by the Monarchs of <i>Blefuscu</i> , which Country is a Place of Refuge for Exiles.
It is computed, that eleven thousand Persons have, at several times, suffered Death, rather than submit to break their Eggs at the smaller End.	Eleven Thousand have suffer'd Death rather than submit to the new Way of breaking their Eggs.
Many hundred large Volumes have been published upon this Controversy: But the Books of the <i>Big-Endians</i> have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendred incapable by Law of holding Employments.	Many Hundred Volumes have been publish'd in this Controversy; but those of the <i>Big-Endians</i> are prohibited, and themselves render'd incapable, by Law, of holding Employments.
During the Course of these Troubles, the Emperors of <i>Blefuscu</i> did frequently expostulate by their Embassadors, accusing us of making a Schism in Religion, by offending against a fundamental Doctrine of our great Prophet <i>Lustrog</i> , in the fifty-fourth Chapter of the <i>Brundecral</i> , (which is their <i>Alcoran</i> .)	The Emperor of <i>Blefuscu</i> has accus'd us, by his Embassadors, of making a Schism in Religion, by offending, in a fundamental Point, against the Doctrine of <i>Lustrog</i> , in the 54 <sup>th</sup> Chapter of the <i>Brundecral</i> , which is their <i>Alcoran</i> .
This, however, is thought to be a meer Strain upon the Text:	But the Text is strain'd,
For the Words are these; <i>That all true Believers shall break their Eggs at the convenient End</i> :	for the Words are; All true Believers shall break their Eggs at the convenient End;
and which seems the convenient End, seems, in my Humble Opinion, to be left to every Man's Conscience, or at least in the power of the chief Magistrate to determine.	and which that is, should be left to every Man's Conscience, or to the chief Magistrate, to determine

Table 47 The war between Lilliput and Blefuscu  
in Motte's 1726 edition and in Stone and King's abridgment

Guerin, 1727	Carrara, 1890
Le peuple fut si irrité de cette loi, que nos Historiens racontent qu'il y eut à cette occasion six révoltes, dans lesquelles un Empereur perdit la vie, & un autre la Couronne.	Questa legge irritò il popolo e cagionò molte rivoluzioni, che costarono ad un imperatore le vita e ad un altro il trono.
Ces dissensions intestines furent toujours fomentées par les Souverains de <i>Blefuscu</i> ; e quand les soulèvements furent réprimez, les coupables se réfugièrent dans cet Empire.	Gli imperatori di <i>Blefuscu</i> incitarono queste intestine discordie col rinfacciare ai nostri la loro ingiustizia, ed accolsero benignamente i trasgressori esiliati, della qual cosa i nostri giovani principi furono sì malcontenti, che da quel tempo siamo sempre in guerra.
On suppose que onze mille hommes ont à différentes fois aimé mieux souffrir la mort, que de se soumettre à la loi de casser leur œufs par le petit bout.	
Plusieurs centaines de gros Volumes ont été écrits & publiez sur cette matiere;	
mais les livres des <i>Gros-Boutiens</i> ont été défendus depuis long-tems, & tout leur parti a été déclaré par les Loix incapable de posséder des Charges.	
Pendant la fuite continuelle de ces troubles, les Empereurs de <i>Blefuscu</i> ont souvent fait des remontrances par leurs Ambassadeurs, nous accusant de faire un crime, en violant un précepte fondamental de nôtre grand Prophete <i>Lustrog</i> , dans le 54. Chapitre du <i>Brundecral</i> ; (ce qui est leur <i>Alcoran</i> .)	
cependant cela a été jugé n'être qu'une Interpretation du sens du texte, dont voici les mots: <i>Que tous les Fideles casseront leurs œufs au bout le plus commode</i> :	
on doit à mon avis laisser décider à la conscience de chacun, quel est le bout le plus commode; ou au moins, c'est à l'autorité du Souverain Magistrat d'en décider.	

Table 48 The war between Lilliput and Blefuscu  
in Desfontaines' translation and in Cavanna's children's version

Once again, it is Cavanna who reduces the passage of the source to its bare bones. The omission of all references to religious matters makes it impossible to draw a parallel between the conflict between Lilliput and Blefuscu and the enduring wars between Protestant England and Catholic France.

The fact that Stone and King and Cavanna treat the political and religious component differently is clearly due to their different intended audience and the different period in which their versions were published. Italian children would be more interested in Gulliver's adventures and in his improbable encounters than in the political, religious and philosophical implications of the book. On the other hand, the general audience for which the abridgment catered would clearly take pleasure in joining in the hunt for satirical targets which had triggered the proliferation of keys and bizarre interpretations. It is not surprising, therefore, that Stone and King opted for leaving the allusions to contemporary figures and institutions almost intact.

If Stone and King make evident efforts to preserve Swift's political attacks and religious allegories, the same cannot be said with regard to the satire of eighteenth-century travel narratives. During the analysis of Cavanna's version we observed that, due to the significant reduction of details and pedantic descriptions, Gulliver's account no longer parodies the scrupulous report of eighteenth-century real or fictitious explorers. This applies all the more so to Stone and King's abridgment, which contains even less descriptive detail.

The strength of Swift's satire on human weakness is also affected by the reductive shifts implemented by Stone and King. Swift constantly uses Gulliver's gullibility and pride to criticise the naiveness and the eccentricity of his contemporaries. The suppression of details which help delineate Gulliver's personality and, above all, of feelings and thoughts, significantly neutralises this effect<sup>101</sup>. Not only does Gulliver come across as less proud and naive, as I have previously pointed out (see p.162), but he also appears more submissive and tolerant. When he is attacked by the Lilliputians, Gulliver does not even protect his face from the arrows and describes the scene from the point of view of a detached and passive spectator rather than from that of a participant. This prevents readers from perceiving his distress and growing desire for freedom, with the result that the tension and the dramatic force which characterise the passage in the standard text decrease.

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<sup>101</sup> As highlighted by Rogers (1985, p.176), the omission of characters' feelings and thoughts was a very common practice among eighteenth-century abridgers.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my Face, lifting up his Hands and Eyes by Way of Admiration, cried out in a shrill, but distinct Voice, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : The others repeated the same Words several times, but I then knew not what they meant.	One more bold than the rest ventur'd to return, and looking me full in the Face, cry'd, with a shrill Accent, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : the others repeated the same.
I lay all this while, as the Reader may believe, in great Uneasiness: at length, struggling to get loose, I had the Fortune to break the Strings, and wrench out the Pegs that fastened my left Arm to the Ground; for, by lifting it up to my Face, I discover'd the Methods they had taken to bind me; and, at the same time, with a violent Pull, which gave me excessive Pain, I a little loosened the Strings that tied down my Hair on the left Side, so that I was able to turn my Head about two Inches.	In struggling I got my left Arm loose, which they no sooner perceiv'd, than one of them cry'd <i>Tolgo Phonac</i> , and presently follow'd such a Volley of small Darts, that pricked like so many Needles upon my Hands and Face.
But the Creatures ran off a second time, before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great Shout in a very shrill Accent,	
and after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, <i>Tolgo Phonac</i> ; when in an Instant I felt above an hundred Arrows discharged on my left Hand, which pricked me like so many Needles;	
and besides they shot another Flight into the Air, as we do Bombs in <i>Europe</i> ; whereof many, I suppose, fell on my Body, (though I felt them not) and some on my Face, which I immediately covered with my left Hand.	

Table 49 Gulliver's first contact with the Lilliputians in Motte's 1726 edition and in Stone and King's abridgment

The characterisation of Gulliver which emerges in Stone and King's abridgment prompts readers to develop empathy with him. This was also observed in regard to the Italian children's version of Treves and Carrara. Here, identification is largely stimulated by the illustrations, which, as we have seen, depict Gulliver as a placid young man.

The shifts identified during the examination of the Italian versions also arguably characterise Stone and King's abridgment. The message of the source text is often simplified and further condensed. Syntactic transposition and reordering play a primary role in harmonising the information of the standard text after it has been subject to reduction. The example below illustrates how the different shifts combine in relation to the rendering of a short excerpt from passage two.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
The Ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great Chamber of State, where the Candidates are to undergo a Trial of Dexterity very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least Resemblance of in any other Country of the old or the new World.	The Candidates are to shew their Dexterity, by leaping over,
The Emperor holds a Stick in his Hands, both Ends parallel to the Horizon, while the Candidates advancing one by one, sometimes leap over the Stick, sometimes creep under it backwards and forwards several times, according as the Stick is advanced or depressed.	and creeping under a Stick, which the Emperor holds in his Hand, parallel to the Horizon.

Table 50 Combination of shifts, extract from passage two in Stone and King's abridgment



Let us reconstruct the process of re-codification enacted by Stone and King by following their actions step by step.

1. The source sentences were deprived of the details which were deemed superfluous (parts in bold)

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
<b>The Ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great Chamber of State, where the Candidates are to undergo a Trial of Dexterity very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least Resemblance of in any other Country of the old or the new World.</b>	The Candidates are to shew their Dexterity, by leaping over,
The Emperor holds a Stick in his Hands, both Ends parallel to the Horizon, while the Candidates <b>advancing one by one</b> , sometimes leap over the Stick, sometimes creep under it <b>backwards and forwards several times, according as the Stick is advanced or depressed.</b>	and creeping under a Stick, which the Emperor holds in his Hand, parallel to the Horizon.

Table 51 Omission from passage two in Stone and King's abridgment

2. The subordinate clause "the Candidates are to undergo a Trial of Dexterity different from the former" is condensed and, by means of syntactic transposition, is turned into the main clause "the Candidates are to shew their Dexterity"
3. Through the implementation of reordering the clause "while the Candidates sometimes leap over the Stick, sometimes under it" is advanced.
4. Condensation and syntactic transposition combine to change the status of the clause and reduce it into "by leaping over, and creeping under a Stick".
5. The main clause "The Emperor holds a Stick in his Hands, both Ends parallel to the Horizon" is turned into the subordinate clause "which the Emperor holds in his Hand, parallel to the Horizon". The shift is once again the result of the simultaneous implementation of syntactic transposition and condensation.

I have stressed that the actions performed by Stone and King are generally aimed at simplifying the structures of the source and at making the transmission of the message more immediate. At times, however reduction and re-elaboration become so excessive that ambiguity arises. Let us examine the following extracts from passage one and three respectively.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first.	Immediately I felt so many of the same Species upon me,
I was in the utmost Astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the Falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the Ground.	that in Consternation roaring out, they leapt from me upon the Ground.

Table 52 Ambiguity in passage one in Stone and King's abridgment

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy Moons past, there have been two struggling Parties in this Empire, under the Names of <i>Tramecksan</i> , and <i>Slamecksan</i> , from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves.	As to the First, for Seventy Moons we have had contending Parties, under the Names of <i>Tramecksan</i> and <i>Slamecksan</i> , from the different Heighth of the Heels of their Shoes.

Table 53 Ambiguity in passage three in Stone and King's abridgment

In the first case, the implicit construction “in Consternation roaring out, they leapt from me upon the ground” makes it difficult to establish whether it is Gulliver or the Lilliputians who roar. In the second example the condensation of “from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves” into “from the different Heighth of the Heels of their Shoes” prevents the reader from telling who between the *Tramecksan* and the *Slamecksan* wear high and low heels. The ambiguity is not clarified at any point of the abridgment.

The examination of the shifts at the word level brings to light further analogies between the processes behind the composition of Stone and King's abridgment and of the Italian versions.

Many items of the source text are replaced in the abridgment with synonymous expressions which do not appreciably shorten the text. The table below gathers some examples from across the four passages.

Passage	Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
1	I walked near a Mile before <b>I got to the Shore</b>	I walk'd a Mile before <b>I reach'd the Shore</b>
	<b>I was extremely tired</b> and [...] I found myself much inclined to sleep.	and <b>being thoroughly fatigued</b> , I slept on the Ground till next Morning.
2	The Emperor had a mind one day <b>to entertain me</b>	The Emperor had a Mind <b>to divert me</b>
	They are trained in this Art from their Youth, and are not always <b>of noble Birth</b>	They are train'd up to it from their Youth, and are not always <b>of high Birth</b>
3	<b>but</b> , however, added, that if it had not been for <b>the present Situation of things</b> at Court.	and added, that it was occasion'd by <b>the present Situation of Affairs</b> at Court:
	Now, <b>in the midst of these intestine Disquiets</b> , we are threatened.	Now, <b>in the midst of these Discontents</b> , we are threaten'd
4	I had <b>the Evening before</b> drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine	I had, <b>the Night before</b> , drank plentifully of a Sort of Wine
	<b>I returned to my House</b> , without waiting to congratulate <b>with the Emperor</b>	<b>I went Home</b> , without waiting to congratulate <b>with his Majesty</b>

Table 54 Substitution with synonymic expressions in Stone and King's abridgment

A similar trend was noticed during the analysis of Marsecco's 1729 interlingual translation and of the editions published by Bestetti and by Perino in 1865 and 1886. In these versions, the use of synonyms was justified by stylistic reasons. Marsecco widened the range of the vocabulary of his translation by avoiding the many repetitions present in the French source (see Chapter Three, section 3.3.2); Bestetti and Perino modernised Barbieri's 1840 text by replacing obsolete terms with more current options (see Chapter Three, section 3.10.2). No apparent reason, on the other hand, seems to support Stone and King's intervention other than perhaps the need to alter the words of Motte's edition and escape the charge of plagiarism.

Stone and King's abridgment presents some conceptual divergences which do not affect the general sense of the work or the development of the plot. In passage one, for instance, "I walked near a Mile" and "an hundred Arrows" are rendered with "I walk'd a Mile" and "a volley of arrows". In passage two "they exceed all Nations I have known" is replaced with "they exceed all other Nations in the World" and in passage three "for above seventy Moons" becomes "for Seventy Moons". I would like to point out that similar interventions are also present in the Italian versions. Barbieri, for instance, translated "above a hundred arrows" with "un centinaio di frecce" [a hundred arrows]; Bestetti replaced Barbieri's translation "montò quasi sul mento" [mounted almost on the chin] with "montò sul mento" [mounted on the chin]; in Sonzogno's 1883 edition "je marchai un demi lieue" [I walked for half a league] is rendered with "camminai una mezz'ora" [I walked for half an hour].

On one occasion, divergence is caused by a shift from plural to singular whereby in the expression of the source "they soon returned", 'they', which stands for 'the Lilliputians', is replaced with "one more bold than the rest". The change suggests to the readers that the other Lilliputians were too scared to climb Gulliver's body for a second time.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
However, <b>they soon returned</b> , and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my Face, lifting up his Hands and Eyes by Way of Admiration, cried out in a shrill, but distinct Voice, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : The others repeated the same Words several times, but I then knew not what they meant.	<b>One more bold than the rest ventur'd to return</b> , and looking me full in the Face, cry'd, with a shrill Accent, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : the others repeated the same.

Table 55 Shift from plural to singular in Stone and Kings' abridgment

The shifts identified during the macro- and micro-analysis of Stone and King's edition mark the first phase of the process of textual evolution which made *Gulliver's*



*Travels* directly accessible to a wide British audience. The next section explores how the popularisation of Swift's work progressed by extending the analysis to the chapbook version of 1750(?).

#### **4.4 *Gulliver's Travels* and the world of chapbooks**

The version of *Gulliver's Travels* published by Stone and King falls within the category of reductions commonly denominated 'longer abridgments' or 'longer adaptations' (see for example Rogers, 1985, p.190). A second and very different category of reductions was that of abridgments in the form of chapbooks. Differences can be observed on many levels, starting from physical appearance, distribution and usage.

Unlike longer abridgments, eighteenth-century chapbooks did not look like ordinary books and could rarely be purchased in shops. They were made by folding a large sheet of coarse rag paper printed on both sides in order to form a booklet of 12 or 24 leaves. Chapbooks were commonly sold by itinerant pedlars known as 'chapmen' alongside with other small items such as ribbons, pins, household goods and medicines. They presented a wide range of material of the popular tradition including medieval romances, folktales of giants and fairies, songs, ballads and jests and anecdotes of everyday rural and urban life. Only occasionally would they draw on contemporary narratives. A distinct characteristic shared by all varieties of chapbooks was the alternation of sections of written texts with crude though vivid and attractive woodcuts.

Chapbooks appealed to a more varied audience than longer abridgments. As Spufford reports, chapbooks were aimed at "a very wide cross-section of the urban and rural lower sections of society" (1981, p.51) and, more specifically, "to a readership from merchants down to apprentices in towns, from yeomen to in-servants in the countryside" (1981, p.72). There is solid evidence that they were collected and read by schoolboys of the upper and middle classes (Spufford, 1981, p.72) and by many gentlemen too (Simons, 1998, p.4). Even the poorest and barely literate or illiterate labourers were familiar with chapbooks. As John Simons points out, "[i]n pre-industrial societies [...] the lack of means to possess or read a text [did] not by any means preclude access to writing" (1998, p.6). In a context in which reading in public was a fairly common form of entertainment, it was not unusual for chapbooks to be read aloud during public events or in inns and alehouses (Simons, 1998, p.6; Spufford, 1981, p.65, O'Malley, 2011, p.32).

The analysis of the 1750(?) chapbook version of *Gulliver's Travels* will give an idea of how reductions in the form of chapbooks and longer abridgments differ.

#### 4.4.1 *The Travels and Adventures of Capt. Lemuel Gulliver (1750?): macro-level*

The title and the subtitle differ from those of the original version. They present the chapbook as an adventure story set in an “unknown land” inhabited by unusually little people, thus suggesting that the voyage to Lilliput is the only one to be retained. Most of the title page is taken up with a woodcut which depicts Gulliver tied to the ground surrounded by the Lilliputians. As in many other chapbooks (see Neuburg, 1968, p.22), no indication is provided with regard to the publisher and the year of publication.

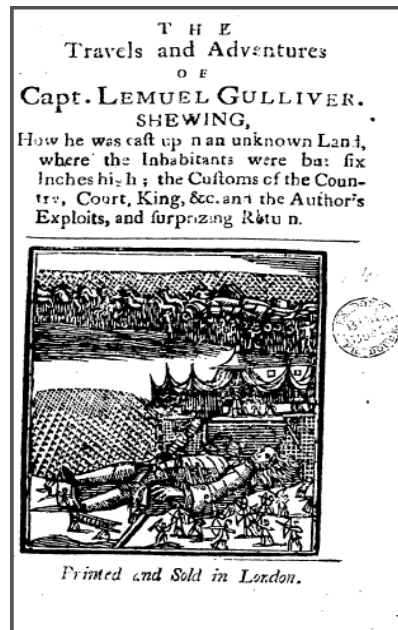


Fig.47 Front page of the chapbook edition

The chapbook consists of 24 pages and contains seven of the eight chapters of Gulliver's first voyage. Chapter VII, which narrates Gulliver's escape to Blefuscu, is omitted together with the other three voyages. The decision to preserve the voyage to Lilliput is presumably due to the fact that it is the most accessible and that, unlike the other voyages, it provides background information useful for the characterisation of the protagonist and for the contextualisation of the story. The thematic features which the voyage to Lilliput shares with other popular tales (the protagonist setting off in search of fortune, the theme of giants and pygmies) might also have been determinant for its conversion into a chapbook story. The first two chapters preserve most of the information included in the standard version and have more or less the same length as in Stone and King's abridgment. From Chapter III, however, the text is progressively

reduced, with the last two chapters consisting of only a few sentences<sup>102</sup>. Each chapter is preceded by a condensed version of the original introductory summaries.

The omission of Chapter VII alters not only the internal narrative structure but also the development of the plot. In the standard text of *Gulliver's Travels* the Lilliputians accuse Gulliver of treason and threaten to kill or to blind him, thus inducing him to flee to Blefuscu. With the help of the Blefuscudians Gulliver sets sail for home. The charges pressed against Gulliver are generally associated with the accusations advanced against the Tory ministers Oxford and Bolingbroke by the Whig Committee of Secrecy in 1715 (see for example Rivero, 2002, pp.28 and 56). The chapbook makes no mention of the charges nor of Gulliver's escape to Blefuscu and ends with Gulliver leaving the island with the help of the Lilliputians and the blessing of the emperor of Lilliput. It is possible that the omission of the chapter was prompted by the restraints imposed by the chapbook format.

The chapbook is illustrated with eight woodcuts, of which only two are specifically related to *Gulliver's Travels*. It is interesting to notice that these bear a close resemblance to the illustrations first published in Motte's second edition of 1727. The first illustration (see Fig.48 and Fig.49), on the title page, depicts Gulliver tied to the ground and in the process of being transported to Mildendo, the capital city of Lilliput.



Fig.48 Gulliver tied to the ground (lower section) and carried to Mildendo (top section) in Motte's 1727 edition, vol.I



Fig.49 Gulliver tied to the ground (lower section) and carried to Mildendo (top section) in the chapbook version

<sup>102</sup> This phenomenon is far from being uncommon in chapbook literature. During the analysis of a chapbook version of *Robinson Crusoe*, Rogers observes that it "start[s] off as though there were all time in the world [...]. After that, things speed up" (Rogers, 1985, p.171).

The other woodcut (see Fig.50 and Fig.51) is a (poor) copy of the illustration originally used to represent Gulliver's sighting of the flying island of Laputa. In the chapbook this is recycled and transplanted in the section of chapter one in which Gulliver mentions Mildendo for the first time.

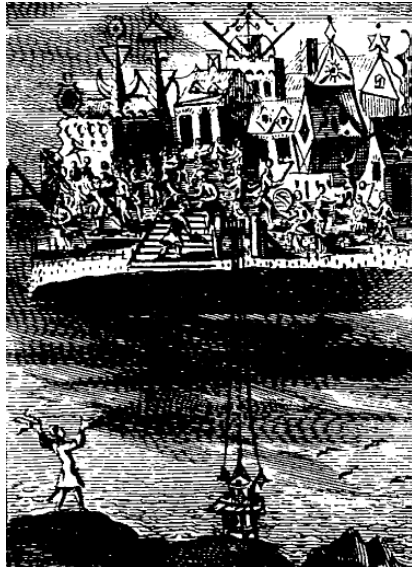


Fig.50 Gulliver sighting Laputa  
in Motte's 1727 edition, vol.II



Fig.51 Gulliver sighting Mildendo  
in the chapbook version

The remaining six woodcuts provide a further insight into the degree of mobility and dynamism involved in the composition of the chapbook. They are clearly borrowed from other popular chapbooks. The recycling of illustrations does not cause any serious disjunction with the written text because the woodcuts relate in interesting ways to the general theme of the chapter in which they are inserted or with the verbal section which they accompany. I have managed to establish provenance for some of the woodcuts. In Chapter I, for instance, the illustration which presumably refers to the lines "the Emperor in great pomp and magnificence, attended by a number of his principal nobility" (p.9) is also used to represent Guy summoned by the emperor in two supposedly contemporary versions of *The History of Guy, Earl of Warwick* and *The History of Valentine and Orson*<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> The year of publication of both chapbooks is unknown



Fig.52 Conversation with the emperor,  
in the chapbook versions of *Gulliver's Travels*, *Guy of Warwick* and *Valentine and Orson*

The first page of Chapter III, the chapter which describes the entertainments at the court of Lilliput, has a woodcut with a dance scene. The same woodcut illustrates the song *The Fairy Dance* in a collection of fairy stories and appears in *The Witch of the Woodlands*<sup>104</sup>.



Fig.53 Dance scene,  
in the chapbook versions of *Gulliver's Travels*, *The Fairy Dance* and *The Witch of the Woodlands*

In Chapter IV, the woodcut which represents the encounter between Gulliver and Reldresal also appears in *Merry Frolicks, or the comical Cheats of Swalpo*.



Fig.54 Gulliver and Reldresal,  
in the chapbook versions of *Gulliver's Travels* and *Merry Frolicks, or the comical Cheats of Swalpo*

The migration of woodcuts across different publications was a widespread practice in the eighteenth century (Behrendt, 1997, pp.26-27). As Behrendt puts it,

<sup>104</sup> The year of publication of both chapbooks is unknown

“individual illustrations functioned at times for their publishers as visual ‘set pieces’, as interchangeable stock images that drew more upon conventions associated with particular subjects, themes, and genres than upon the particularized details of individual literary works” (1997, p.27).

In other words, the practice of recycling images provided a common denominator between different texts which readers identified as belonging to the popular literary and cultural tradition (see for example O’Malley, 2011, p.27).

The refractive function performed by the woodcuts of the 1750(?) chapbook made an important contribution to the popularisation and to the evolution of *Gulliver’s Travels* in the British literary polysystem. On the one hand the copies of the illustrations published by Motte created a direct intertextual relationship with the standard text of Swift’s work. On the other hand, the recycled woodcuts ensured that *Gulliver’s Travels* conformed to the “accepted and expected conventions of the already existing norms of chapbook literature” (O’Malley, 2011, p.27; see also Welcher, 1988, p.222), thus turning it into a popular tale. Similar considerations were made about illustrations in the Italian versions analysed in Chapter Three. There, we observed that Grandville’s illustrations act as a thread which links most of the editions of Swift’s work published in nineteenth-century Italy. It was also noticed that while Grandville’s accurate drawings establish a strong bond with the standard text, the positively connotated illustrations contained in the children’s editions rendered *Gulliver’s Travels* consistent with to the models of children’s literature prevailing at that time (see Chapter Three, section 3.10.1).

#### 4.4.2 Micro-level

On a textual level, the progressive reduction of the chapters’ length is reflected in the diminution of the word count of the four passages. Passage one is compressed from 806 to 284 words. Passage two is omitted. Passage three is reduced from 874 to only 37 words and passage four from 610 to 84 words<sup>105</sup>.

For the re-codification of passage one, the author of the chapbook followed a procedure analogous to the one adopted by Stone and King and by Cavanna. The main efforts are clearly directed towards eliminating superfluous descriptions, conjectures, feelings and qualifications. As already observed, this tendency has three main effects. Firstly, it increases the accessibility of the text by directing the attention of the readers

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<sup>105</sup> Due to the omission of the details which distinguish Motte’s and Faulkner’s editions (e.g. the colours of the threads in passage two), it is not possible to establish on which source the text of the chapbook is based.

towards the main incidents. Secondly, it speeds up the pace of the narration. Thirdly, it suppresses the key elements which constitute the vehicle of Swift's satire against contemporary travel narratives.

In terms of the extent to which the source is reduced, the chapbook bears a close resemblance to the abridgment of Stone and King.

<b>Motte, 1726 - Faulkner, 1735</b>	<b>Stone and King, 1727</b>	<b>Chapbook, 1750(?)</b>
For my own Part, I swam as Fortune directed me, and was push'd forward by Wind and Tide.	but, as good Fortune would have it,	for my own part, I swam as fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by (t)he wind and tide.
I often left my Legs drop, and could feel no bottom : But when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the Storm was much abated.	as I was almost spent with swimming, I found myself within my Depth.	I was almost spent, when to my joy I found myself within my depth, and made my best way to shore;
The Declivity was so small, that I walked near a Mile before I got to the Shore, which I conjectur'd was about eight a Clock in the Evening.	I walk'd a Mile before I reach'd the Shore,	
I then advanced forward near half a Mile, but could not discover any sign of Houses or Inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a Condition, that I did not observe them.	and then finding no Signs of Houses or Inhabitants,	and after walking about eight miles, without discovering houses or inhabitants,
I was extremely tired, and with that, and the Heat of the Weather, and about half a Pint of Brandy that I drank as I left the Ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep.	and being thoroughly fatigued,	being weary,
I lay down on the Grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my life, and as I reckoned, above nine Hours; for when I awaked, it was just Day-light.	I slept on the Ground till next Morning: When I awaked,	I laid myself down to sleep, and slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my life. When I awoke
I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: For as I happen'd to lie on my Back, I found my Arms and Legs were strongly fastened on each side to the Ground; and my Hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner.	I was surprised to find me self so fastened to the Ground that I could not rise.	I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir, for I found my legs and hair fastened to the ground,
I likewise felt several slender Ligatures across my Body, from my Armpits to my Thighs.		
I could only look upwards, the Sun began to grow hot, and the Light offended mine Eyes.		
I heard a confused Noise about me, but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the Sky.	At length I heard a confused Noise about me, but in the Posture I lay, being on my Back, could see nothing.	

Table 56 Opening sentences of passage one  
in Motte 1726/Faulkner 1735 editions, Stone and King's abridgment and the chapbook

Overall, the author of the chapbook agrees with Stone and King on what information should be given prominence. Some differences can be observed in relation to the rendering of small details. The chapbook specifies that Gulliver was pushed by the wind and the tide, that he had the soundest sleep of his life and that his legs and hair were tied to the ground, thus including details which Stone and King ignore. On the other hand, the remark in the 1727 abridgment that Gulliver heard a confused noise is not retained in the chapbook. The indication of Gulliver's position is visually rendered by the woodcut placed on the front page (Fig.47 and Fig.49).

As in the 1727 abridgment, the interplay between reductive shifts and syntactic transposition plays a primary role during the process of re-codification of the source. Both Stone and King and the author of the chapbook compress the extract of the source into a smaller number of sentences.

On some occasions, both abridgments retain the source item without any alteration. At times, the source element is replaced with synonymous expressions. Like the 1727 abridgment, the chapbook replaces “I was almost gone and able to struggle no longer” with “I was almost spent”, while “before I got to the Shore” is rendered by Stone and King with “before I reach’d the Shore” and with “(I) made my best to the shore” in the chapbook. These alterations are reminiscent of the editorial interventions which distinguish the Italian intralingual variations of Barbieri’s translation as well as the minor amendments which distinguish Faulkner’s 1735 text from Motte’s first edition of 1726.

Stone and King and the author of the chapbook introduce similar conceptual divergences. The first regards the rendition of the specifications that Gulliver walks “near a mile” to reach the shore and that then he continues for “near half a Mile”. The two abridgments retain only one of these two specifications, Stone and King’s the first, the chapbook the second. As mentioned in section 4.3.2, Stone and King change “near a mile” into “a Mile”. In the chapbook “near half a Mile” becomes “eight miles”. The reasons of these changes can only be speculated upon. We might interpret them as oversights, as part of the general plan to reduce the length of the source, or, in Stone and King’s case, as an attempt to escape charges of piracy. In the chapbook, the shift “near half a Mile” – “eight miles” might be read as an expedient to make Gulliver’s adventure more challenging and more similar to the wandering journeys of traditional chapbook heroes.

There is another occasion on which the abridgers of the two versions implement the same kind of conceptual change. The analysis of the abridgment of Stone and King revealed the presence of a divergence due to the shift from plural to singular (see Table 55). In the chapbook, a shift from singular to plural occurs in the sequence in which the Lilliputians climb for the first time on Gulliver’s body.



Motte, 1726 – Faulkner, 1735	Chapbook, 1750(?)
<u>I likewise felt several slender Ligatures</u> across my Body, from my Ampits to my Thighs.	
I could only look upwards, the Sun began to grow hot, and the Light offended mine Eyes.	
I heard a confused Noise about me, but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the Sky.	
In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left Leg, which advancing gently forward over my Breast, came almost up to my Chin; when bending mine Eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a <b>human Creature</b> not six Inches high, with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back.	and felt several tender ligaments walking on my body, which on advancing to my chin, I perceived to be <b>human creatures</b> not six inches long, with a bow and arrow in their hands, and a quiver at their back.
In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first.	

Table 57 Shift from singular to plural in the chapbook

As in Stone and King's abridgment, the shift introduces a change which affects the development of the narrative. When Gulliver looks downwards to see what is climbing his body, he sees not one but many Lilliputians. The standard text and Stone and King's version, on the other hand, reveal that the Lilliputian archer is followed by a multitude of fellows in the subsequent sentence, thus allowing for tension to build up gradually. In the chapbook this effect is absent with the result that the pace of the narration is considerably accelerated.

The extract contains a second case of conceptual divergence. The source text clause "I felt something alive moving on my left Leg" is rendered with "(I) felt several tender ligaments walking on my body". In the eighteenth century, as today, the term 'ligament' was used to indicate "a white and solid body [...]" which "fasten[s] the bones" or, less frequently, a generic "bond, chain, entanglement" (Johnson, 1768 [1755]). It is not clear whether the author of the chapbook intentionally wants to refer to one or the other meaning or he is simply displacing and accidentally distorting the clause of the source "I likewise felt several slender Ligatures" (part underlined in the table). Shifts of this kind are generally regarded as symptomatic of the low status and the poor quality of chapbook publishing (see for example Rogers, 1985, pp.171 and 186). Such a generalisation is in my opinion unfair. We have seen that more comprehensive editions of *Gulliver's Travels* published by renowned publishers are not exempt from similarly awkward renditions. In Chapter Three (section 3.10.2), for instance, I highlighted that in Sonzogno's 1883 edition, it is the empress and not her apartment which catches fire because of the carelessness of a maid of honour.

Let us conclude the analysis of passage one by turning our attention to the section in which Gulliver is repeatedly attacked by the Lilliputians. As already mentioned in section 3.10.2, in the standard versions the action is described by three lengthy sentences and develops following this sequence - the Lilliputians run off Gulliver's body for a second time, they direct a first volley of arrows towards his hand and a second towards his body and face. A third discharge of arrows follows during which some Lilliputians prick Gulliver's sides with their spears. In Stone and King's abridgment the sequence is concentrated in two much reduced sentences. The first tells of a single volley of darts directed towards Gulliver's hands and face, the second of the Lilliputians pricking his sides with spears. Despite compressing the action into a single sentence, the chapbook pays more attention to the progressive development of the events and respects, at least to a certain extent, the gradual crescendo of the tension. As in the standard version, the Lilliputians run away from Gulliver a second time and shoot three volleys of arrows. No mention, however, is made of the spears which prick Gulliver's sides.

Motte, 1726 – Faulkner, 1735	Stone and King, 1727	Chapbook, 1750(?)
I lay all this while, as the Reader may believe, in great Uneasiness: at length, struggling to get loose, I had the Fortune to break the Strings, and wrench out the Pegs that fastened my left Arm to the Ground; for, by lifting it up to my Face, I discover'd the Methods they had taken to bind me; and, at the same time, with a violent Pull, which gave me excessive Pain, I a little loosened the Strings that tied down my Hair on the left Side, so that I was able to turn my Head about two Inches.	In struggling I got my left Arm loose, which they no sooner perceiv'd,	I lay very uneasy, and with a struggle broke the strings which tied my hair so that I could then just move my head, which they seeing,
But the Creatures ran off a second time, before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great Shout in a very shrill Accent,		ran off a second time, before I could seize any of them;
and after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, <i>Tolgo Phonac</i> ; when in an Instant I felt above an hundred Arrows discharged on my left Hand, which pricked me like so many Needles;	than one of them cry'd <i>Tolgo Phonac</i> , and presently follow'd such a Volley of small Darts, that pricked like so many Needles upon my Hands and Face.	soon after I heard a great shout, and felt an hundred arrows discharged on my hands like prickling needles;
and besides they shot another Flight into the Air, as we do Bombs in <i>Europe</i> ; whereof many, I suppose, fell on my Body, (though I felt them not) and some on my Face, which I immediately covered with my left Hand.		and a second
When this Shower of Arrows was over, I felt a groaning with Grief and Pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another Volly larger than the first, and some of them attempted with Spears to stick me in the Sides; but, by good luck, I had on me a Buff Jerkin, which they could not pierce.	Some attempted to thrust Spears into my Sides, but they would not pierce my Buff Jerkin.	and a third volley were fired at my sides, which they could not pierce.

Table 58 Gulliver under siege,  
in Motte 1726/Faulkner 1735 editions, Stone and King's abridgment and the chapbook

In the chapbook, the scene of the siege is supported as well as anticipated by the woodcut on the title page. The details in the woodcut partially compensate the

omissions in the verbal text. The reader of the chapbook, unlike the reader of Stone and King's abridgment, is made aware of Gulliver's discomfort, the posture in which he lies, how he is immobilised by the strings, the multitude of Lilliputians who surround him and of the drama of the situation. In this sense, it can be asserted that the chapbook is not only more informative but also closer to the standard version of *Gulliver's Travels* than the 1727 abridgment. Despite applying only to the first two chapters, these observations suffice to challenge the view that in the composition of chapbooks no efforts were made to mimic the stylistic and formal features of the sources (see for example Rogers, 1985, pp.186-187). The woodcuts which closely reproduce the illustrations of Motte's 1727 edition can also be interpreted as a further attempt to create a connection with the source in the standard form.

The relationship between the chapbook and the standard text changes significantly as the narration progresses. As already anticipated, the highly allegorical description of the entertainment at the court of Lilliput is ignored by the author of the chapbook. The only information which the chapbook retains of the original chapter three is the description of how Gulliver entertains the Lilliputians (he lets them dance in his hands, perform on his handkerchief and march under his legs).

The conversation between Gulliver and Reldresal (passage three) is rendered by the chapbook as shown below.

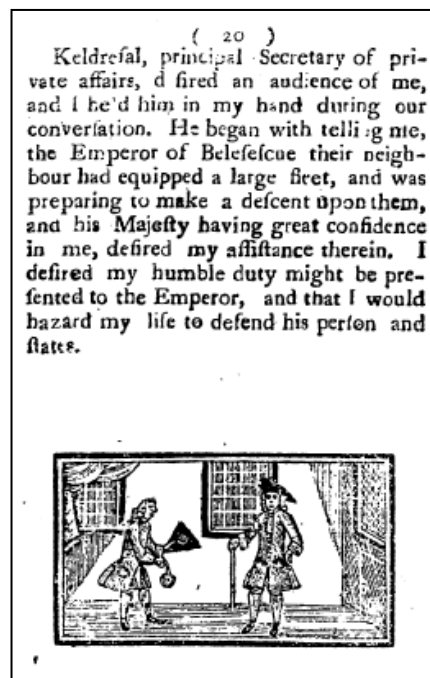


Fig.55 Conversation between Gulliver and Reldresal in the chapbook version

The 37 words comprised in the sentence “He began with telling me [...] desired my assistance therein” are what remains of the original passage three. The chapbook disregards the parts of the source which have satirical significance. The history of the endless political strife between High and Low Heels and the religious contentions between Lilliput and Blefuscu are eliminated to direct readers’ attention towards the only information which is relevant for the development of the narration – that Lilliput and Blefuscu are at war and that the emperor of Lilliput relies on Gulliver’s help to defeat the Blefuscudians.

Let us have a closer look at how this information is encoded in the text of the chapbook. The sentence consists of the fusion of the first and last sentence of the original version of passage three.

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Chapbook, 1750(?)</b>
He began with Compliments on my Liberty, said he might pretend to some Merit in it; but, however, added, that if it had not been for the present Situation of things at Court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon.	He began
However, they have now equipped a numerous Fleet, and are just preparing to make a Descent upon us; and his Imperial Majesty, placing great Confidence in your Valour and Strength, hath commanded Me to lay this Account of his Affairs before You.	with telling me the Emperor of Blefuscu their neighbour had equipped a large fleet, and was preparing to make a descent upon them, and his majesty having great confidence in me, desired my assistance therein.

Table 59 Re-codification of passage three in the chapbook

The fusion of the two sentences of the source is made possible by syntactic transposition. The use of the expression “he began with telling me” made necessary a shift from direct to indirect speech. The shift was made possible through the adaptation of the pronouns (“upon us” - “upon them”) and verbal forms (“have now equipped” - “had equipped”, “are just preparing” - “was preparing”). The addition of the clarification “their neighbour” is made necessary by the fact that this is the first time that Blefuscu has been mentioned in the chapbook.

The verbal text is accompanied by a woodcut which represents a gentleman received by another. The woodcut is thematically related to the content of the verbal text but the fact that Gulliver and Reldresal are the same height suggests that the woodcut was borrowed from another chapbook, presumably *Merry Frolicks* (see Fig.54 and Fig.55).

The content of passage four is also compressed into a single sentence. The 84 words which compose it convey at a fast rhythm the most essential facts pertaining the episode of the extinction of the fire - Gulliver hears about the fire, reaches the palace, joins the

Lilliputians in their efforts to put out the fire, he realises that all efforts are in vain, he urinates on the fire.

In passage one, and in particular in passage three, the interventions of the chapbook's author were aimed at giving prominence to the events which are most relevant for the development of the plot. The retention of the episode of the fire seems to serve a different purpose. The standard edition specifies that by urinating in the precinct of the emperor's palace, Gulliver breaks a fundamental law. This crime has important implications in that it provides the Emperor's council with a further reason to charge Gulliver with treason. The chapbook, as already discussed, makes no mention of the charges nor of their influence on Gulliver's decision to escape to Blefuscu. As a consequence, the inclusion of the episode of the fire has no impact on the logical flow of the narration. Far from constituting an indecent and immoral action, in the chapbook, Gulliver's expedient is perceived as a 'wonderful and astonishing' (1750?, p.22) enterprise which makes him a hero to the eyes of popular readers.

Overall, from chapter three onwards, the author of the 1750(?) chapbook subjected the standard version of *Gulliver's Travels* to higher degrees of textual manipulation than Stone and King. Considering that chapbooks consisted of a very limited number of pages and that they generally targeted an audience with lower levels of education than that of longer abridgments, this difference is quite understandable. For the considerable distance which separates them from their sources, chapbook reductions have generally been attributed lower status than longer abridgments. Rogers claims that longer abridgments entail "gradual attrition rather than wholesome excision" (1985, p.179) and maintain "an organic literary relationship with their sources" (1985, p.186). On the other hand, he sees chapbooks as "adulterated" (1985, p.162), "hasty" (1985, p.186) and "rough" (1985, p.187) précis which "have virtually no relation of a literary kind to the parent work" (1985, p.196). His view is shared, among others, by Alex Davis, who speaks of "originals brutally abbreviated" (2006, p.432), and by Smedman, who calls chapbooks "prostitutions" (1990, p.82).

The distinction between longer abridgments and chapbook reductions recalls, to a certain extent, the differentiation of interlingual from intralingual and intersemiotic translation. In Chapter One (section 1.2) I suggested that, by viewing translation from a polysystemic perspective, we can have a good idea of how the practice is currently perceived. I visualised translation as being composed of three main subsystems - interlingual, intralingual and intersemiotic translation. I pointed out that while interlingual translation occupies the centre of the polysystem, intralingual and

intersemiotic translation linger in the periphery. I then added that the studies occasionally carried out to investigate intralingual and intersemiotic practices act as forces which try to drive these practices closer to the centre. Similar dynamics are observable when reflecting on current perceptions of abridgments. Due to the predominance of source-oriented views, longer abridgments occupy a more central position than chapbook reductions. If in translation the centrality of interlingual translation is challenged by the emergence of less conservative attitudes, the recent theory that chapbooks have been misunderstood is making chapbook reductions less marginal. Andrew O'Malley (2011, p.23) and Preston (1995, p.19), for instance, believe that the significance of chapbooks is better understood if they are examined in relation to the context in which they are produced rather judged through the eyes of modern readers. Were we to do so, explains O'Malley, we would realise that "the seemingly strange omissions and alterations chapbooks perform on their original texts align with the popular responses to and rejections of the dominant ideological forces embedded in the original works" (2011, p.23). This suggests that the process of transformation enacted by chapbooks is not dissimilar and no less fundamental than the one enacted by all other types of refractive practices. In the same way as Cavanna's 1890 interlingual translation assimilated *Gulliver's Travels* to nineteenth-century Italian norms for children's books, the 1750(?) chapbook introduced Swift's work to a popular British readership by connecting it "to an already existing popular repertoire of exotic adventures in strange lands, of lowborn characters overcoming incredible odds and miraculously ascending the social heights" (O'Malley, 2011, p.27). As we will shortly see, chapbooks also played a fundamental role in making *Gulliver's Travels* known among British child readers.

#### **4.5 The origins of *Gulliver's Travels* as a children's book**

There is solid reason to believe that the circulation of *Gulliver's Travels* in reduced editions, and especially in the form of chapbooks, might have introduced Swift's work to children before the appearance of versions specifically addressed to them. This view is supported by Mary F. Thwaite, who speculates that "[s]ome famous classics, notably the *Robin Hood* legends, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* must have reached a much younger public through pedlars' travestied copies than in their original state" (1972, p.41). With more confidence Shavit suggests that chapbook versions of Swift's work were "enthusiastically read by children" (1986, p.116).

Unfortunately, direct evidence of children reading chapbook versions of *Gulliver's Travels* has not emerged so far. The search for general information pertaining to the relationship of young readers with chapbook literature, and in particular with chapbook editions of other important literary works, however, seems to reinforce the validity of Thwaite's and Shavit's statements.

Historians of children's and popular literature agree that throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries children read chapbooks alongside adults (see for example Neuburg, 1968, pp.2 and 18; Spufford, 1981 p.72; Thwaite, p.1; Darton, 1982, p.80; Evans, 2004, p.239; Grenby, 2007, p.277, 2009, p.42 and 2011, pp.103 and 107). Simons claims that the children of the gentry were avid consumers of chapbook tales and stresses that it was thanks to these children that "the many servants who labored to support landowners, rural merchants and industrialists may also have had access to them" (1998, p.7). Gary Kelly adds that chapbooks "were commonly used by middle- and upper-class families as their children's first books" (2002, p.xi; in Grenby, 2007, p.280) and Matthew Grenby specifies that "affluent children were buying their own (chapbooks)" (2007, p.285). These statements are corroborated by testimonies provided by Sir Walter Scott, Sir Richard Steele, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Lamb and Charles Dickens. All brought up in relatively affluent backgrounds, these celebrated authors occasionally expressed their nostalgia for the chapbook stories which they enjoyed reading during their childhood (see Neuburg, 1968, p.16; Simons, 1998, p.7; Grenby, 2007, p.295 and 2011, p.105).

Either through the words of storytellers and of "old wives by the fireside" (Thwaite, 1972, p.1) or through direct access, the children of the lower classes also delighted themselves with chapbooks. Grenby reports that the poet John Clare and the writer Samuel Bamford, both born into poverty, used their savings to purchase chapbooks (2007, pp.286 and 287; 2011, p.106).

Among the chapbooks which most appealed to young readers were *Jack the Giant Killer*, *Saint George and the Dragon*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Valentine and Orson*, *Fortunatus*, *Bevis of Southampton*, *Tom Thumb*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Seven Champions* and *Tom Hickathrift* (Meigs, Thaxter Eaton, Nesbitt, Hill Viguers, 1969, p.56; Thwaite, 1972, pp.40 and 41; Grenby, 2007, pp.280, 281, 284, 286, 288 and 2011, pp.103 and 106). It is notable that *Gulliver's Travels* is not included in the list. Considering that chapbook versions of Swift's work circulated together with some of the titles cited above (see sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2), however, it is likely that children

who were affectionate readers of chapbooks might also have come across popularised editions of *Gulliver's Travels*.

The infatuation of young readers with chapbook literature was often the object of criticism and concern. Educators, guardians and religious devotees campaigned to discourage children from reading popular tales of giants, monsters, fairies and talking animals, which, they maintained, were foolish, vulgar and morally harmful (Grenby, 2007, p.296; Evans, 2004, p.241; Neuburg, 1968, p.18; Norton, 1987, p.48). To these, they opposed a corpus of strictly edifying and moralising works which were thought would help young readers turn into virtuous and pious adults.

Since the introduction of printing, children's literature had consisted predominantly of a mixture of rigorously utilitarian "courtesy books, schoolbooks and religious texts" (Evans, 2004, p.239). During the seventeenth century, with the spread of Puritan ideology, children's books became especially austere and infused with religious fervour. Two texts are generally indicated by scholars as the most representative of the period - Thomas White's *A Little Book for Little Children* (1660) and James Janeway's *A Token for Children* (1671-72) (see for example Thwaite, 1972, pp.26-27; Evans, 2004, pp.240-241; Grenby, 2009, pp.41-42). White's work gathers a collection of "histories of Christian martyrs with grisly details of tortures inflicted on the victims, who are often young children" (Thwaite, 1972, p.27). Of great interest is the author's appeal to dissuade children from reading popular literature. White urges children to "read no ballads and foolish books" but rather "a Bible, and the Plainmans pathway to Heaven [...]" as well as "the Histories of the Martyrs that dyed for Christ" and "Treatises of Death, and Hell, and Judgment, and of the Love and Passion of Christ" (in Neuburg, 1968, pp.18-19). Following White's example, Janeway wrote a moral work which, as specified by the subtitle, provides "*an exact Account of the Conversion, holy and exemplary Lives and joyful Deaths of several young Children*".

Towards the closing of the seventeenth century, a new belief developed that children should be provided with books whose tone, language and subject matter would be better suited for their tastes and abilities (Norton, 1987, p.49). This view was largely promoted by John Locke's influential treatise *Some thoughts concerning education* (1693). Locke suggested that alongside the Bible children would benefit from reading pleasant, entertaining and preferably illustrated books such as *Aesop's fables* and *Reynard the Fox*, (1693, pp.183-184; see also Thwaite, 1972, p.34; Evans, 2004, p.241; Norton 1987, p.49). Readings which were likely to "fill [children's] head[s] with perfectly useless trumpery" (1693, p.183), Locke specified, were to be avoided at all costs.



Clearly, the chapbook tales of which young readers were so fond were included in this category.

Locke's theories had a profound influence on the production of children's literature in the opening decades of the eighteenth century. Children's books continued to impart didactic and moralising lessons aimed at moulding young readers into honest and diligent individuals devoted to God and to their families. However, the grim images which abounded during the Puritan era were gradually replaced with more light-hearted ones. Writers of children's books became more concerned with "conduct in the life of here-and-now rather than with preparation for the life hereafter" (Thwaite, 1972, p.33). In addition, special consideration began to be given to the capacities and the requirements of child readers. William Ronksley's *The Child's Weeks-Work* (1712) and Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* (1716) are typical examples of these new trends. Both Ronksley and Watts turned to the use of rhyme in the light of the widespread conviction "what is learned in verse is longer retained in memory and sooner recollected" (Darton, 1982, p.108). Clearly, despite the new efforts directed at making reading a more enjoyable experience, the idea of books conceived for the pure entertainment of children remained unacceptable. As Frederick J. H. Darton comments, "children with imaginative minds still had to steal in order to satisfy their free desires. Nothing cheerfully original was offered to them, nor were there facilities for them to look for it" (1982, p.118).

All these considerations made, it is not difficult to understand why children found great pleasure in reading the exciting, magical and heroic adventures recounted by popular tales and by other forms of adult literature. It is essential to remember that while chapbooks, ballads and the Bible were probably the only printed material which poor children shared with their elders, children of the middle and upper classes had access to a wider range of products. Grenby observes that the library of well-off children often did not differ from "the library of an erudite adult" (2011, p.95). In fact, he hazards, "[i]t seems that very few of the sons of gentry and upper middle-class families [...] were encountering any books designed especially for them in the first half of the eighteenth century" (ibid.). Evidence shows that these children were well accustomed to the works of the classical authors as well as with the works of many modern personalities including Bunyan, Dryden, Pope, Gay, Addison, Defoe and Swift (Meigs, Thaxter Eaton, Nesbitt, Hill Viguers, 1969, pp.43-51; Darton, 1982, pp.106-107; Norton, 1987, p.51; Wu, 1993, p.133; Evans, 2004, p.241; Grenby 2011 p.94,

96)<sup>106</sup>. Three works seems to have been enjoyed by middle-class children with particular pleasure - *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* (Meigs, Thaxter Eaton, Nesbitt, Hill Viguers, 1969, pp.43-51; Darton 1982, pp.106, 107; Norton, 1987, p.51; Wu, 1993, p.133; Evans, 2004, p.241). Like *Gulliver's Travels*, Bunyan's and Defoe's works are imbued with philosophical and existential reflections which are too complex and profound for the minds of children, even according to eighteenth-century standards<sup>107</sup>. What made these works attractive to the eyes of young readers were the heroic and adventurous journeys on which their protagonists embark and the imaginative vividness with which they were recounted.

As Smedman points out, Swift's work "has many qualities to delight child readers" (1990, p.76) - it is "set in fantasyland", it "evokes wonder, is inventive and rich in detail and infused with the writer's passionate concern for his subject" (1990, p.77). The same view is expressed by Thwaite, who claims that "[t]he appeal to children in this powerful satire lay in its setting - a world of fantasy and topsy-turvydown, where boys and girls not six inches high play at hide-and-seek in Gulliver's hair, and the hero, shrunk to a tiny manikin in a land of giants, nearly drowns in a Brobdingnagian bowl of cream" (1972, p.44).

These characteristics make it plausible to assume that *Gulliver's Travels* was read by children before the appearance of its abridgments. In fact, it is very likely that children of the middle and upper classes were among the earliest readers of Swift's work. As chapbook editions began to circulate, the accessibility of *Gulliver's Travels* was extended to the children of the lower classes. Presented with the option of choosing between integral and chapbook editions, well-off child readers might have come to prefer the latter, which were undoubtedly visually more attractive (see Grenby, 2011, p.103) and easier to read.

Whether it happened through standard or chapbook editions, children's access to *Gulliver's Travels* constituted an 'illicit' act on the basis that Swift's work would not classify as a children's book at that time. As will be seen shortly, the situation was soon destined to change thanks to John Newbery and his successors.

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<sup>106</sup> Wu reports that Wordsworth declared that "during his earliest days at school" he read "any part of Swift that I liked: *Gulliver's Travels*, and the *Tale of the Tub*, both being much to my taste" (1993, p.133).

<sup>107</sup> *Pilgrim's Progress* is a religious allegory which tells of the spiritual journey of Christian, an ordinary man, towards salvation and redemption. In *Robinson Crusoe* Defoe tackles a range of themes such as the search for identity and for God, the role of the individual in the society and imperialist ambitions.

#### 4.6 The Newberys and the earliest children's edition of *Gulliver's Travels*

John Newbery made his first steps into the publishing industry at sixteen, when he became the assistant of William Carnan, printer of Reading. In 1745, after having set up his own business at the Bible and the Sun in St. Paul's Churchyard, Newbery began to make a name for himself as a publisher and seller of periodicals, school books, books for adults and patent medicines (Darton, 1982, p.120; Evans, 2004, p.244; Rose 1995 p.216). He soon realised the profit potential of children's literature and, following his astute business sense (Meigs, Thaxter Eaton, Nesbitt, Hill Viguers, 1969, p.59; Evans, 2004, p.244), he turned it into the flourishing business which gained him the reputation as the pioneer publisher of children's books (Weedon, 1949, p.30; Grenby, 2007, p.291).

An admirer of Locke (Thwaite, 1972, p.44; Norton, 1987, p.51; Rose, 1995, p.217), Newbery shared the view that children should be provided with books which were instructive as well as entertaining. Like the majority of children's books published in the 1740s, Newbery's books were "fundamentally didactic, teaching the alphabet, civic history, and good behaviour, but instruction was being contained within a framework of pictures, rhymes, riddles, jokes and stories designed to amuse children" (Grenby, 2009, p.40). Newbery's idea of entertainment, however, involved more than the use of attractive devices such as pictures, rhymes and jokes. He reckoned that since chapbook tales were so successful among young readers, elements of popular literature should be included in books intended for their use. Newbery's beliefs resulted in the production of books which Grenby rightly defines as

hybrids that retained some elements of the chapbook tradition but which simultaneously stressed the importance of education and morality, and espoused a clear bourgeois work-and-reward ethos. They looked broadly similar to the chapbooks, being the same shape and size, and they included certain elements that were deliberately meant to remind readers of popular literature (2007, p.296).

Children's books, Newbery maintained, had to be appealing not only in terms of the content but also in appearance, hence the decision to bind them in covers of Dutch flowered paper (Thwaite, 1972, p.49; Norton, 1987, p.51).

It is generally assumed that Newbery gleaned inspiration for these initiatives from his "taking note of children's tastes as measured by the popularity of their favourite chapbooks" (Norton, 1987, p.51), as well as from the influential works of Thomas Boreman and of Thomas Cooper (see Thwaite, 1972, p.45; Meigs, Thaxter Eaton,

Nesbitt, Hill Viguers, 1969, p.58; Rose, 1995, p.218)<sup>108</sup>. What distinguished Newbery from all the other publishers was the way in which he organised the production and the marketing of his products. While the availability of children's books had been, until then, relatively limited (see Darton, 1982, p.137; Thwaite, 1972, p.43), Newbery "established the young reader's right to have books published regularly" (Thwaite, 1972, p.49). As Darton explains, he had understood that "invasion of the market [had to] be constant and continuous" and that it was "useless to have an idea for a book or two and then stop" (1982, p.135). Newbery combined the regular production of children's book with clever and extensive exploitation of publicity (Darton, 1982, p.122; Evans, 2004, p.244; Rose, 1995, p.222). Advertisements of his products frequently appeared in newspapers as well as in his books. Margareth Evans reports that Newbery marketed his books "through the important provincial newspapers of the day, and using the newspapers distribution outlets, [he] maximized the penetration of his books into rural areas from his famous shop at the Bible and Sun [...]" (2004, p.244). Mrs. Williams, one of the characters of the stories included in *Nurse Truelove's New Years's gift* (1760) names the books which she puts into her students' hands. All the books are publications by Newbery (Meigs, Thaxter Eaton, Nesbitt, Hill Viguers, 1969, p.60). Similarly, in *Goody Two Shoes*, the reader is told that the pupils of Margery Meanwell, the protagonist of the story, "have read forty-two Newbery books, all of which are conveniently listed at the back of the third edition" (Rose, 1995, p.221). Darton reports that in *The Valentine's Gift* (1764), "[a]fter a rambling account of St Valentine and his day, a not less diffuse story tells of the presents a good little boy receive on that anniversary. They were practically an entire set of Mr. Newbery's juvenile publications" (1982, p.127). In the *Voyage to Brobdingnag* of his version of *Gulliver's Travels* (1772), Newbery replaces "a piece of sweet cake" (Swift, 1735, p.131) with "a piece of plumb-cake" (1776 [1772], p.98), thus introducing a clear allusion to his advertising motto *Trade and Plumb-cake for ever, huzza!*

Another thing which distinguished Newbery from the other publishers of children's books was the wide range of his publications (Darton, 1982, p.123; Meigs, Thaxter

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<sup>108</sup> Between 1740 and 1743 Thomas Boreman published a series of little books which he humorously denominated 'Gigantick Histories'. The little volumes, as Thwaite specifies, are "mainly concerned with London and its history and description, with the fabulous represented by the story of Gogmagog and Corineus in *The Gigantick History of the Two Famous Giants* (1740)" (1972, p.45). In 1742 Thomas and Mary Cooper issued *The Child's New Play-thing*, a collection of "scripture-histories, fables, songs, proverbs, moral precepts, and most notable, stories – shortened versions of the long established favourites, *St. George*, *Fortunatus*, *Guy of Warwick*, and *Reynard the Fox*" (Thwaite, 1972, p.46). Two years later, in 1744, the Coopers published another successful work inspired by chapbook literature, *Tommy Thumb's Song Book*, which is generally regarded as the earliest collection of nursery rhymes (Grenby 2009 p.39; Thwaite, 1972, p.46).

Eaton, Nesbitt, Hill Viguers, 1969, p.61). *A Little Pretty Pocket Book* (1744) is a good representation of Newbery's philosophy that books should fulfil their didactic and moral functions through the use of entertaining games, stories and anecdotes which fed on the folklore tradition. It gathered lessons to teach the alphabet as well as "moral maxims, verses, proverbs and popular literature" (Thwaite, 1972, p.49), including two letters from *Jack the Giant Killer*. The book, sold alone or with a ball (for boys) or a pincushion (for girls), was a great success<sup>109</sup>. *Goody Two Shoes* (1765) was received with no less enthusiasm. Through the experiences of and the lessons imparted by Margery Meanwell, the book teaches children how to spell as well as how to become good Christians, accept death and fight superstitions (see Rose, 1995, pp.219-221). Some references to popular literature can be traced. According to Darton, "in writing some parts of the book, [Newbery] had in mind the chapbooks about Fortunatus and Friar Bacon" (1982, p.134). Newbery's publications for young readers also comprised abridged versions of the Bible<sup>110</sup>, the earliest children's encyclopedia *The Circle of the Sciences* (1745-1748) (Rose, 1995, p.223; Grenby, 2009, p.40; Darton, 1982, p.123), and the "short-lived periodical" (Grenby, 2009, p.41) *The Lilliputian Magazine* (1751-1752)<sup>111</sup>.

Newbery attributed to the term 'Lilliputian' two different connotations. On the one hand, like in *Gulliver's Travels*, it refers to the land of Lilliput, which is also the setting of one of the stories published in the *Lilliputian Magazine*. On the other hand, the term designates "the little people for whom the magazine was designed" (Welcher, 1988, p.44).

The association of the words 'Lilliput' and 'Lilliputian' with the world of children had become increasingly common in mid-eighteenth-century Britain. In her study of Gulliveriana, Welcher observes that in the period immediately following the appearance of *Gulliver's Travels*, the word 'Lilliputian' was often adopted to indicate "smallness that is trivial, petty, mean, vain and short-sighted" (1988, pp.42-43) or to denote "any small person or thing whether naturally or abnormally so, or a young adult regardless of size, or a woman of any age or size" (1988, p.43). After 1750, she continues,

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<sup>109</sup> Thwaite reports that by 1767, the year in which Newbery died, *A Little Pretty Pocket Book* had gone through twelve editions (1972, p.49).

<sup>110</sup> According to Rose, between 1757 and 1791, Newbery published fourteen children's editions of the Bible.

<sup>111</sup> Jonathan Rose identifies *The Lilliputian Magazine* as the earliest children's magazine (1995, p.223). He then specifies that "[i]ts initial press run was four thousand copies and was sold for three pence a month. It was discontinued after three issues, and no copies of the first printing survive; but it was successfully marketed as a bound volume, with seven editions between 1752 and 1772" (ibid.).

characters called Lilliputians were more likely to be children than miniature adults (ibid.). Gradually the word developed a moralistic connotation quite foreign to Swift's usage. The new fictional Lilliputians were designed as youthful models of virtue and courage for the edification of children. "Lilliputian" also designed the young readers themselves. By implication, these boys and girls, like the characters about whom they were reading, were adventurous, even heroic little people. Above all, the epithet implied that they were educable (1988, p.44).

I find it very likely that Newbery's references to Lilliput and to the Lilliputians were driven more by his genuine interest in *Gulliver's Travels* rather than by conformity to the trends of the period. Thwaite is confident that Newbery was familiar with as well as influenced by Swift's work (1972, p.43). Evidence of Thwaite's belief is provided by the fact that, in the books that he wrote and published, Newbery does not refer exclusively to the land of Lilliput. In *The Valentine's Gift* (1764), for instance, a horse is addressed "in the language of the Houyhnhnms" (see Darton, 1982, p.127).

Newbery's name is often associated with *Gulliver's Travels* not only because of these intertextual allusions, but also - and especially - because his publishing house is credited with having issued the first children's edition of Swift's work. The edition in question, entitled *The adventures of Capt. Gulliver, in a Voyage to Lilliput and Brobdingnag*, was first advertised on 10 March 1772 in the *Middlesex Journal*. The title was listed among the "New Entertaining and Instructive Little Books for Children" published by Francis Newbery, nephew and successor of John<sup>112</sup>. The announcement specified that the book was sold at six pence, thus suggesting that it was addressed to children of the middle and upper classes. This implies that well-off children, who already read *Gulliver's Travels* in both its standard and in the chapbook form, were now provided not only with a further but also a legitimate option to access Swift's work. For children of the lower classes, on the other hand, knowledge of Gulliver's adventures continued to be mediated by the chapbook versions which were produced for the enjoyment of their elders<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>112</sup> After John Newbery's death, in 1767, his business was taken up by his step-son Thomas Carnan, his son and his nephew, both named Francis. As Weedon reports, "Francis S[on] alone inherited the medicine side of the business. The literary copyrights were mostly bequeathed to Thomas Carnan and the two Francis's" (1949, p.123). While Francis son and Carnan remained at 65 St. Paul's Churchyard, Francis nephew set up independently at No.20 Ludgate Street (ibid.; see also Rose, 1995, pp.224-225). Under the new management, the Newbery firm expanded, with the children's section remaining an important and profitable part of the business. Carnan and Francis Newbery son and nephew continued their predecessor's tradition of providing children with entertaining and educational books by issuing reprints of John Newbery's successes or brand new attractive publications.

<sup>113</sup> Children of the lower classes were likely to have accessed Newbery's edition of *Gulliver's Travels* through its pirated copies. According to my research Newbery's text was reprinted in 1773 by John Sadler, in 1799 by J. and M. Robertson, and in the 1815 Scottish editions published by Lumsden & Son and G. Ross. All these reprints are chapbooks which include only the voyage to Lilliput.

The earliest available copy of Newbery's version of *Gulliver's Travels* is that published in 1776. It is on the analysis of this version that the following sections will concentrate.

#### 4.6.1 Newbery's *Gulliver's Travels*: macro-level

Newbery's 1776 edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, a 128-page tricesimo-secondo (10cm x 6,5cm), is provided with a rather informative title page.

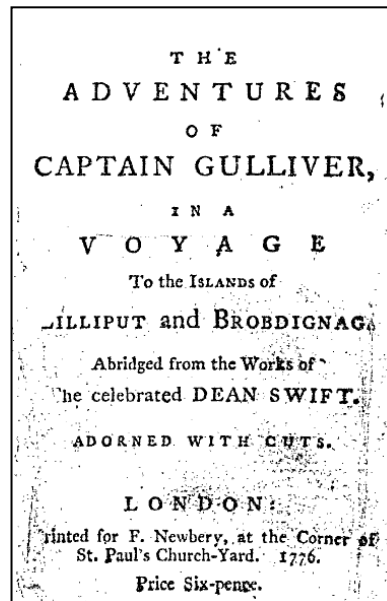


Fig.56 Title page of Newbery's edition

Like the 1750(?) chapbook, Newbery's edition is presented as an adventure story. On the other hand, the specification that the work is an abridgment recalls Stone and King's version. The indication that "the Works of the celebrated DEAN SWIFT" are the source of the abridgment informed young readers that they were being granted access to what was considered a prestigious work of literature. That Newbery's *Gulliver's Travels* was only accessible to children of the middle and upper classes is not suggested exclusively by the price but also by the specificity of the title page. It should not be forgotten that the indication of place, date of publication and publisher were not normally indicated in chapbooks.

The edition includes only the first two voyages. Like Stone and King and the author of the chapbook, Newbery ignores the prefatory notice and letter introduced by Motte and Faulkner respectively and begins the narration of the voyage to Lilliput right away.

The types of narrative and the internal narrative structure of the original are respected, and so is the division into chapters. The most remarkable macro-difference

which distinguishes Newbery's *Gulliver's Travels* from Swift's lies, once again, in the length. Newbery reduces the compass of the standard edition to an extent which recalls the moderate approach adopted by Stone and King rather than the severe excision carried out by the author of the chapbook.

The main body of the text is not the only component of Newbery's edition to be subject to reduction. Most of the brief synopses positioned at the beginning of each chapter are also visibly shorter than their standard correspondents. A comparison of the introductory summaries across Motte's edition, Stone and King's abridgment, the 1750(?) chapbook and Newbery's text reveals a certain affinity between the reductive actions performed by Newbery and by the publisher of the chapbook. The tables below show the relationship between the summaries of the first two chapters of the voyage to Lilliput across the four editions.

#### CHAP. I.

*The Author gives some Account of himself and Family, his first Inducements to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his Life, gets safe on shoar in the Country of Lilliput, is made a Prisoner, and carry'd up the Country.*

Fig.57 Synopsis of Chapter I,  
Motte, 1726, vol.I, p.1

#### CHAP. I.

*The Author's Relation of Himself and Family His first Inducements to Travel. After being Shipwreck'd, he swims for his Life; gets safe on Shore in the County of Lilliput. Made Prisoner, and carry'd up the Country*

Fig.58 Synopsis of Chapter I,  
Stone & King, p.1

#### CHAP. I.

**The Author's Account of himself and Family. Of his being shipwrecked, gets on Shore at Lilliput, and is there taken Prisoner.**

Fig.59 Synopsis of Chapter I,  
Chapbook, p.2

#### CHAP. I.

*A short Account of Mr. Gulliver, and his Family; he is shipwrecked, cast on Shore in the Country of Lilliput, and made a Prisoner by the Natives.*

Fig.60 Synopsis of Chapter I,  
Newbery, p.5

#### CHAP. II.

*The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the Nobility, come to see the Author in his Confinement. The Emperor's Person and Habit described. Learned Men appointed to teach the Author their Language. He gains Favour by his mild Disposition. His Pockets are searched, and his Sword and Pistols taken from him.*

Fig.61 Synopsis of Chapter II,  
Motte, 1726, vol. I, Part I, p.25

#### CHAP. II.

*The Emperor of Lilliput, with his Nobility, come to see the Author. His Person and Habit described. Learned Men are appointed to teach him the Language; who gains Favour by his mild Disposition. His Pockets are searched, and Sword and Pistols taken from him.*

Fig.62 Synopsis of Chapter II,  
Stone & King, p.9



C H A P. II.  
The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by his  
Nobility, come to see the Author in  
his Confinement.

Fig.63 Synopsis of Chapter II,  
Chapbook, p.10

C H A P. II.  
*The Emperor visits Mr. Gulliver, with  
other interesting particulars.*

Fig.64 Synopsis of Chapter II,  
Newbery, p.21

A further characteristic which Newbery's version shares with the chapbook is that it incorporates a series of attractive woodcuts which have replaced the original illustrations published in Motte's and Faulkner's editions. Newbery adopts nineteen woodcuts, of which one is placed in the frontispiece, eleven are distributed across the voyage to Lilliput and seven across the voyage to Brobdingnag. All the in-text cuts were specifically designed to reproduce scenes and details from Swift's work. The cut in the frontispiece, on the other hand, depicts a lady dressed in the fashion of the period who "has no discernible relevance to *Gulliver*" (Rogers, 1985, p.180). Below are aligned the frontispiece and two woodcuts for each of the two voyages. Structural and stylistic differences lead us to assume that the frontispiece and the body of the text were illustrated by different hands.



Fig.65 Frontispiece,  
Newbery

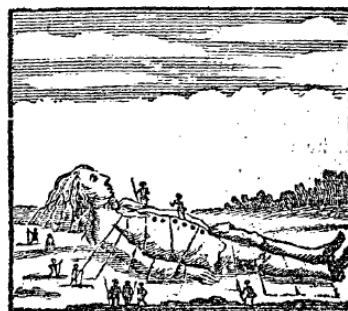


Fig.66 Gulliver tied to the  
ground, Newbery, p.11



Fig.67 Entertainments at court,  
Newbery, p.36



Fig.68 The Brobdingnagians,  
Newbery, p.78

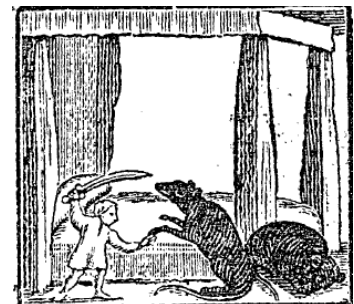


Fig.69 Gulliver and two rats,  
Newbery, p.83

Evidently, Newbery's expedients to attract the attention of children through the exploitation of popular literature were not confined to the appropriation of chapbook

heroes. Through the use of chapbook-style woodcuts, Newbery gave his *Gulliver's Travels* the popular look which would remind young readers of their favourite chapbooks. We remember that the publisher of the 1750(?) chapbook also relied on woodcuts to give his edition of Swift's work a popular appeal.

Section 4.4.1 showed how the use of recycled woodcuts originally intended for other publications significantly contributed to the transformation of *Gulliver's Travels* into a chapbook story. Newbery's use of chapbook-style woodcuts had a different purpose. Rather than producing another chapbook edition, he created a version of *Gulliver's Travels* which complied with his conception of children's books. His project consisted of transplanting chapbook-style woodcuts into a new hybrid text "partly derived from the chap tradition and partly from the new children's literature" (Grenby, 2007, p.298). Unlike the publisher of the 1750(?) chapbook, Newbery adorned his edition with woodcuts all especially produced to illustrate Swift's work. If this was not enough to distinguish his little volume from popular publications, he provided it with a rigid cover and put it up for sale at a reasonably high price.

The analysis conducted so far revealed that while assembling the macro-structural and paratextual apparatus of his version of *Gulliver's Travels*, Newbery made choices which combine features of Stone and King's abridgment and the 1750(?) chapbook with his idea of what a children's book should be.

#### **4.6.2 Micro-level**

The exploration of the reductions of *Gulliver's Travels* included in this study so far revealed that the efforts of abridgers are substantially directed to give visibility to the main incidents of the plot through the elimination of accessory details, conjectures, excessively lengthy descriptions, feelings and thoughts. We have also seen that the decision of what information of the source text should be retained or omitted varies according to the expectations and the requirements of the target audience. Stone and King preserved Swift's satirical allusions, anticipating that their middle class audience were likely to possess the ability to interpret them and would find them diverting. Cavanna's version and the chapbook, on the other hand, were addressed to audiences with potentially little interest in and knowledge of the political and moral disorders which affected society, hence the elimination of such references. Driven by the intention to produce entertaining children's book, Newbery opted for the same approach followed by Cavanna and the author of the chapbook.

The tables below compare how Stone and King and Newbery rendered the same extract of passage two.

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Stone &amp; King, 1727</b>
Very often the Chief Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Skill, and to convince the Emperor that they have not lost their Faculty.	The chief Ministers are often commanded to shew their Skill, to convince the emperor they retain their Faculty.
<i>Flimnap</i> , the Treasurer, is allowed to cut a Caper on the straight Rope, at least an Inch higher than any other Lord in the whole Empire.	<i>Flimnap</i> , the Treasurer, I have seen perform Wonders.
I have seen him do the Summerset several times together upon a Trencher fixed on the Rope, which is no thicker than a common Packthread in <i>England</i> .	
My friend <i>Reldresal</i> , Principal Secretary for private Affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the Treasurer; the rest of the great Officers are much upon a Par.	<i>Reldresal</i> , the Secretary of State for private Affairs, is second to him; and the rest of the great Officers are much upon a Par.
These Diversions are often attended with fatal Accidents, whereof great Numbers are on Record.	These Diversions are often attended
I my self have seen two or three Candidates break a Limb.	with broken Limbs,
But the Danger is much greater when the Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Dexterity; for by contending to excel themselves and their Fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who hath not received a Fall, and some of them two or three.	especially upon the Emulation amongst the Prime Ministers.
I was assured, that a Year or two before my arrival, <i>Flimnap</i> would have infallibly broke his Neck, if one of the King's Cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the Force of his Fall.	The dexterous <i>Flimnap</i> had once broke his Neck, had he not fell upon one of the King's Cushions, which accidentally lay on the Ground.

Table 60 Political targets in Stone and King's abridgment I

<b>Faulkner, 1735</b>	<b>Newbery, 1776</b>
Very often the chief Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Skill, and to convince the Emperor that they have not lost their Faculty.	
<i>Flimnap</i> , the Treasurer, is allowed to cut a Caper on the straight Rope, at least an Inch higher than any other Lord in the whole Empire.	
I have seen him do the Summerset several times together, upon a Trencher fixed on the Rope, which is no thicker than a common Packthread in <i>England</i> .	
My friend <i>Reldresal</i> , principal Secretary for public Affairs, is, in my Opinion if I am not partial, the second after the Treasurer; the rest of the great Officers are much upon a Par.	
These diversions are often attended with fatal Accidents, whereof great Numbers are on Record.	These diversions, however, are often attended with fatal accidents;
I my self have seen two or three Candidates break a Limb.	Mr. <i>Gulliver</i> himself saw two or three people break their limbs;
But the Danger is much greater, when the Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Dexterity: For, by contending to excel themselves and their Fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who hath not received a Fall; and some of them two or three.	and when the ministers themselves are commanded to perform, they frequently strain so far, that there is hardly any of them who have not received a fall, and some of them two or three.
I was assured, that a Year or two before my arrival, <i>Flimnap</i> would have infallibly broke his Neck, if one of the King's Cushions, that accidentally lay on the Ground, had not weakened the Force of his Fall.	

Table 61 Political targets in Newbery's edition I

Newbery discarded all specific targets of Swift's satire, probably because they were no longer topical and because he assumed that children lacked the acumen necessary to associate Flimnap to Sir Robert Walpole, Reldresal to the secretary of state Lord Carteret and 'the Kings' Cushions' to the duchess of Kendall, a mistress of George I and the woman who was thought to have helped Walpole to bounce back to power in 1721 (see Scott, 1814, p.51; Dennis, 1899, p.39; Rivero, 2002, p.32). The same reason is likely to have prompted the omissions in passage three.

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Stone &amp; King, 1727</b>
It is alledged indeed, that the high Heels are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution: But however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use of only low Heels in the Administration of the Government, and all Offices in the Gist of the Crown,	It's said, that high Heels are the most agreeable to our ancient Constitution; but his Majesty admits only of low Heels in the Administration of Government, and the Offices of the Crown.
as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's Imperial Heels are lower at least by a <i>Durr</i> than any of his Court; ( <i>Durr</i> is a Measure about the fourteenth Part of an Inch.)	You may particularly observe that his Majesty's Imperial Heels are lower than the rest of the Court.
The Animositys between these two Partys run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other.	All Society between the Two Parties is lost by these Animosities;
We compute the <i>Tramecksan</i> , or High-Heels, to exceed us in Number; but the Power is wholly on our side.	tho' we have the Power, the high Heels exceed us in Number.
We apprehend his Imperial Highness, the Heir to the Crown, to have some Tendency towards the High-Heels; at least, we can plainly discover one of his Heels higher than the other, which gives him a Hobble in his Gait.	We imagine, his Imperial Highness, the Heir to the Crown, tends towards the high Heels, for we can discover one of his Heels higher than the other, which makes him limp in his Gait.

Table 62 Political targets in Stone and King's abridgment II

<b>Faulkner, 1735</b>	<b>Newbery, 1776</b>
It is alledged indeed, that the high Heels are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution: But however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use of only low Heels in the Administration of the Government, and all Offices in the Gist of the Crown; as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's Imperial Heels are lower at least by a <i>Durr</i> than any of his Court; ( <i>Durr</i> is a Measure about the fourteenth Part of an Inch.)	The <i>Tramecksans</i> assert, that the high-heeled are most agreeable to the constitution, and they are most numerous; but the power is entirely in the hands of the <i>Slamecksans</i> , since his majesty has determined to make use of low heels only in the administration of government.
The Animosities between these two Parties run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other.	
We compute the <i>Tramecksan</i> , or High-Heels, to exceed us in Number; but the Power is wholly on our Side.	
We apprehend his Imperial Highness, the Heir to the Crown, to have some Tendency towards the High-Heels; at least we can plainly discover one of his Heels higher than the other; which gives him a Hobble in his Gait.	

Table 63 Political targets in Newbery's edition II

On this occasion, Newbery does not eliminate the satirical allusion altogether but rather the details which Swift provides to help his readers identify the object of the satire. After having mentioned that Lilliput is afflicted with the internecine strife between Tramecksan and Slamecksan, Swift specifies that "his Majesty's Imperial

Heels are lower at least by a *Durr* than any of his Court” and that “the Heir to the Crown, [has] some Tendency towards the High-Heels”. Swift trusted that his intended readers knew that George I sided with the Whigs and Low Churchmen and that his heir Prince George favoured the Tories (see Rivero, 2002, p.40). With this background knowledge, it would not have been difficult for them to figure out that Tramecksan and Slamecksan stood for Tories and Whigs respectively. While Stone and King make these details easily accessible to their readers, Newbery eliminates them, thus depriving the dissent between Tramecksan and Slamecksan of its satirical significance. In other words, for the young readers of Newbery’s edition, the quarrel is nothing else than a further detail which contributes to the characterisation of fictional Lilliput and not an allegorical depiction of the political condition of England.

The same considerations apply to the section which discloses the causes of the conflict between Lilliput and Blefuscu.

Motte, 1726	Stone & King, 1727
The People so highly resented this Law, that our Historys tell us there have been six Rebellions raised on that account; wherein one Emperor lost his Life, and another his Crown.	This Law was so resented by the People, that Six Rebellions have been rais’d on that Account, in which one Emperor has lost his Life, and another his Crown.
These civil Commotions were constantly fomented by the Monarchs of <i>Blefuscu</i> ; and when they were quelled, the Exiles always fled for Refuge to that Empire.	These Commotions have always been fomented by the Monarchs of <i>Blefuscu</i> , which Country is a Place of Refuge for Exiles.
It is computed, that eleven thousand Persons have, at several times, suffered Death, rather than submit to break their Eggs at the smaller End.	Eleven Thousand have suffer’d Death rather than submit to the new Way of breaking their Eggs.
Many hundred large Volumes have been published upon this Controversy: But the Books of the <i>Big-Endians</i> have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendred incapable by Law of holding Employments.	Many Hundred Volumes have been publish’d in this Controversy; but those of the <i>Big-Endians</i> are prohibited, and themselves render’d incapable, by Law, of holding Employments.
During the Course of these Troubles, the Emperors of <i>Blefuscu</i> did frequently expostulate by their Embassadors, accusing us of making a Schism in Religion, by offending against a fundamental Doctrine of our great Prophet <i>Lustrog</i> , in the fifty-fourth Chapter of the <i>Brundecral</i> , (which is their <i>Alcoran</i> .)	The Emperor of <i>Blefuscu</i> has accus’d us, by his Embassadors, of making a Schism in Religion, by offending, in a fundamental Point, against the Doctrine of <i>Lustrog</i> , in the 54 <sup>th</sup> Chapter of the <i>Brundecral</i> , which is their <i>Alcoran</i> .

Table 64 Religious allegory in Stone and King’s abridgment



Faulkner, 1735	Newbery, 1776
The People so highly resented this Law, that our Histories tell us, there have been six Rebellions raised on that Account ; wherein one Emperor lost his Life, and another his Crown.	The law, however, was so disagreeable to the people, that there had been no less than six rebellions on the account, wherein one emperor lost his life, and another his crown.
These civil Commotions were constantly fomented by the Monarchs of <i>Blefuscu</i> ; and when they were quelled the exiles always fled for Refuge to that Empire.	
It is computed, that eleven Thousand Persons have, at several Times, suffered Death, rather than submit to break their Eggs at the smaller End.	
Many hundred large Volumes have been published upon this Controversy: But the Books of the <i>Big-Endians</i> have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendred incapable by Law of holding Employments.	
During the Course of these Troubles, the <i>Emperors</i> of <i>Blefuscu</i> did frequently expostulate by their Ambassadors, accusing us of making a Schism in Religion, by offending against a fundamental Doctrine of our great Prophet <i>Lustrog</i> , in the fifty-fourth Chapter of the <i>Brundecral</i> , (which is their <i>Alcoran</i> .)	During these commotions, the emperors of <i>Blefuscu</i> frequently accused the <i>Lilliputians</i> of schism, in rejecting a fundamental doctrine of the <i>Alcoran</i> . This however is a mere strain upon the text; for the words are, <i>That all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end</i> .

Table 65 Religious allegory in Newbery's edition

Swift and Stone and King provide their readers with revelatory clues which link the conflict with the religious war between Protestant England and Catholic France. They specify that the Blefuscudians offered asylum to the Lilliputian dissidents and that the Big-Endians “had been rendered incapable by Law of holding Employments”.

Educated readers of the middle and upper classes would not struggle too much to find a connection between the Lilliputian dissenters and the Catholics who were banned from government employment and who fled to France in search of protection (see Rivero, 2002, p.40). In Newbery's edition the war between Lilliput and Blefuscu becomes a generic conflict whose importance is more functional for the development of the plot rather than for fulfilling satirical purposes. It should be noted that in Chapter V Gulliver gets involved in the war and that, by consigning the Blefuscudian fleet to the emperor of Lilliput, he becomes a hero in the eyes of the Lilliputians and, we may assume, also in the eyes of Newbery's little readers. It is true that Newbery does not dismiss all clues provided by Swift. His version still contains the specification that during the rebellion “one emperor lost his Life, and another his Crown” and that the Blefuscudians accuse the Lilliputian of a religious schism. However, unlike Swift and Stone and King, he apparently did not expect his readers to interpret these details as references to Charles I, James II and Henry VIII's breakage with the Church of Rome but rather, to take them at their face value.

The examination of the information retained in the examples above makes it possible to advance some considerations on the trends followed by Newbery during the

re-codification of all four passages. Newbery makes extensive use of syntactic transposition to piece together the information of the source after this has been expurgated from the parts held unnecessary and inappropriate for his readership. While this trend applies to all the rewritings and in particular to the abridgments of *Gulliver's Travels* considered in this study, a second trend can be identified, which is peculiar only to Newbery's edition. Newbery retells Swift's work using a third person narrator, thus implementing a shift in the point of view. The story is no longer recounted through the eyes and words of Gulliver but from the perspective of a heterodiegetic, omniscient narrator. The repression of Gulliver's voice, together with the elimination of feelings and conjectures normally envisaged by abridgment practices, results in a degree of objectivity which is higher than in the standard text, as well as in any of the other versions analysed. The presence of the narrator is generally imperceptible. On one occasion, however, it becomes clearly manifest. Newbery closes the narration of the episode of the fire with these words - "as for the Empress, she could never be persuaded to live in her apartments afterwards, and privately vowed vengeance against the hero of *our* story" (p.54, emphasis mine). Through the use of the possessive adjective 'our', Newbery explicitly invites his readers to identify with him and to share his perspective. The choice of the term 'hero' also deserves some attention. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1768 [1755]) defines a 'hero' as "a man eminent for bravery" and "a man of the highest class in any respect". The very positive connotations of these definitions lead one to assume that Newbery did not condemn Gulliver for having extinguished the fire by urinating on it and that he rather judged him for the service which he did to the Lilliputians. Newbery's readers, whom he invited to share his point of view, would inescapably also look at Gulliver as the hero who gallantly saved the Empress' life and the imperial palace. This, I would like to point out, was also the view of the author and of the readers of the 1750(?) chapbook (see section 4.4.2). It can be therefore be conjectured that, in his attempt to translate *Gulliver's Travels* into an attractive children's book, Newbery appropriated the Gulliver known to the chapbook audience and transplanted him into the context of children's literature. For the child readers of the 1770s, therefore, *Gulliver's Travels* continued to be the tale of an intrepid traveller whose adventures and feats were no less exciting than those experienced by Jack the giant killer and other chapbook heroes.

The many affinities between Newbery's books and chapbook literature induced Grenby to claim that Newbery "commercialised a process which was already existing" (2009, p.45). This view, in my opinion, is only partially justifiable. The micro-textual

analysis of the passages revealed that features other than the sophisticated cover, the length and the price distinguish Newbery's edition from an ordinary chapbook. A supporter of the Lockean principle that children's books should be tailored to suit children's understanding and reading skills, Newbery was more attentive to the requirements of his intended readers than previous abridgers. Unlike Stone and King and the author of the chapbook, Newbery increased the accessibility of Swift's work not only through the elimination of superfluous sections, but by occasionally clarifying or making the information of the source more explicit. Let us focus on the examples below paying particular attention to the parts in bold.

Passage	Faulkner, 1735	Newbery, 1776
1	<b>I thought it the most prudent Method to lie still;</b> and my Design was to continue so till Night, when my left Hand being already loose, I could easily free myself :	<b>When the people observed that he laid quiet, they discharged no more arrows.</b>
2	I was diverted with none so much as that of the Rope-Dancers, performed upon a slender white Thread, <b>extended about two Foot, and twelve Inches from the Ground.</b>	with none of which he was so much diverted as that of the rope-dancers, who performed upon a slender white thread, <b>about two feet long, and raised twelve inches from the ground.</b>
3	He began with Compliments on my Liberty; said, he might pretend to some Merit in it; but, however, added, that if it had not been for the present Situation of things at Court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon.	<i>Reldresal</i> complimented him upon his liberty, <b>and entered into a political conversation with great confidence.</b>
	Which two mighty Powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate War for six and thirty Moons past. <b>It began upon the following Occasion.</b>	with whom they had waged war for six and thirty moons, <b>from the following important occasion:</b>
4	by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, <b>it is Capital in any Person,</b> of what Quality soever, to make Water within the Precincts of the Palace.	By the Laws of the realm, however, <b>it was a capital offence for any person</b> to make water within the precinct of the palace;

Table 66 Clarifications in Newbery's edition

Newbery helps his readers process the text by providing them with ready-made interpretations and directing their attention to relevant parts. The assumption of the inability of his readers to find the link between Tramecksan and Slamecksan and Tories and Whigs in passage three, prompted Newbery to specify that Reldresal's report deals with a 'political' question. In the same passage, the addition of the word 'important' invites the readers to pay attention to what follows.

In order to convey the information effectively, Newbery generally uses a straightforward and simple style. The syntactic structure of the standard version is simplified mainly through the simultaneous implementation of reductive shifts and syntactic transposition. Efforts are clearly made to avoid inaccuracies such as typos or intricate structures which might compromise the transmission of the message as well as the quality of the publication.



Newbery seems to have established that the dynamic sections concerning Gulliver's captivity and the moments which precede the extinction of the fire would be of special interest to his readers. While rendering these parts, Newbery showed a propensity to respect the lexical choices, the sequence of the events and the pace of the narration of the standard edition. Let us compare the rendition of Gulliver's first encounter with the Lilliputians across Stone and King's abridgment, the 1750(?) chapbook and Newbery's edition.

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Stone &amp; King, 1727</b>
In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left Leg, which advancing gently forward over my Breast, came almost up to my Chin; when bending mine Eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human Creature not six Inches high, with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back.	In a little time, I felt something come up to my Chin, in the Shape of an Human Creature, not six Inches long, with a Bow and Arrow in his Hand, and a Quiver at his Back.
In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first.	Immediately I felt so many of the same Species upon me, that in Consternation roaring out, they leapt from me upon the Ground.
I was in the utmost Astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the Falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the Ground.	
However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my Face, lifting up his Hands and Eyes by Way of Admiration, cried out in a shrill, but distinct Voice, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : The others repeated the same Words several times, but I then knew not what they meant.	One more bold than the rest ventur'd to return, and looking me full in the Face, cry'd, with a shrill Accent, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : the others repeated the same.

Table 67 Gulliver in captivity in Stone and King's abridgment

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Chapbook, 1750(?)</b>
In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left Leg, which advancing gently forward over my Breast, came almost up to my Chin; when bending mine Eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human Creature not six Inches high, with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back.	and felt several tender ligaments walking on my body, which on advancing to my chin, I perceived to be human creatures not six inches long, with a bow and arrow in their hands, and a quiver at their back.
In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first.	
I was in the utmost Astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the Falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the Ground.	I was much amazed, and roared aloud, which so frightened them, that they ran back, and some hurt themselves from the falls they <i>had</i> from my sides on the ground.
However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my Face, lifting up his Hands and Eyes by Way of Admiration, cried out in a shrill, but distinct Voice, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : The others repeated the same Words several times, but I then knew not what they meant.	They soon returned, and one venturing so far as to take a view of my face, cried out with amazement, <i>Heignal Degul</i> ; the others repeated the same several times.

Table 68 Gulliver in captivity in the chapbook

Faulkner, 1735	Newbery, 1776
In a little Time I felt something alive moving on my left Leg, which advancing gently forward over my Breast, came almost up to my Chin; when bending mine Eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a Human Creature not six Inches high, with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back.	In a little time he felt something alive moving on his left leg, which advanced almost up to his chin, when bending his eyes downwards, he perceived it to be a human creature, not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hand, and a quiver at his back.
In the mean time, I felt at least Forty more of the same Kind (as I conjectured) following the first.	He then felt at least forty more following the first;
I was in the utmost Astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a Fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the Falls they got by leaping from my Sides upon the Ground.	and being greatly astonished, he roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them broke their limbs by leaping from his sides to the ground.
However, they soon returned; and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full Sight of my Face, lifting up his Hands and Eyes by Way of Admiration, cried out in a shrill, but distinct Voice, <i>Hekinah Degul</i> : The others repeated the same Words several Times, but I then knew not what they meant.	They soon after returned; and one of them, who ventured to get a full sight of his face, with the greatest astonishment cried out <i>Hekinah Degul</i> .
	He did not understand their language;

Table 69 Gulliver in captivity in Newbery's edition

Newbery's version is clearly the most complete of the three reductions. It retains almost all actions present in the standard edition and reports them in the same exact sequence. The pace of the narration is quicker than in the standard edition but tension is still allowed to build gradually. The information preserved is a verbatim reproduction of the source if not for the implementation of some unobtrusive shifts including

- The omission of “gently forward over my breast”, “as much as I could”, “as I was afterwards told”, “however”, “lifting up his Hands and Eyes”, “in a shrill but distinct voice”, “The others repeated the same Words several Times” and “then”.
- The substitution of the personal pronouns imposed by the use of the third person narrator (‘he’ for ‘I’ and ‘his’ for ‘my’)
- The syntactic transposition of the main clause “I was in the utmost Astonishment” into the causal subordinate clause “being greatly astonished”
- The condensation of “I was in the utmost Astonishment” into “and being greatly astonished” and of “were hurt with the Falls they got” into “broke their limbs”
- The replacement of “came”, “by Way of Admiration” and of “but I then knew not what they meant” with the synonymous expressions “advanced”, “with the greatest astonishment” and “he did not understand their language”
- The elimination of the clause “what they meant” through condensation and syntactic transposition

The difference in the way the three abridgers render the sequence which precedes the extinction of the fire is equally pronounced.

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Stone &amp; King, 1727</b>
However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I then thought, a most signal Service.	It was not long before I had an Opportunity of being useful to his Majesty, occasion'd by a Fire which broke out in her Imperial Majesty's Apartment, which was occasion'd thro' the Neglect of a Chambermaid.
I was alarmed at Midnight with the Cries of many Hundred People at my Door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of Terror.	I was alarmed at Midnight by the People, to come to their Assistance
I heard the Word <i>Burglum</i> repeated incessantly: several of the Emperor's Court making their Way through the Croud, intreated me to come immediately to the Palace, where her Imperial Majesty's Apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a Romance.	

Table 70 The break-out of the fire in Stone and King's abridgment

<b>Motte, 1726</b>	<b>Chapbook, 1750(?)</b>
However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I then thought, a most signal Service.	Some days after
I was alarmed at Midnight with the Cries of many Hundred People at my Door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of Terror.	
I heard the Word <i>Burglum</i> repeated incessantly: several of the Emperor's Court making their Way through the Croud, intreated me to come immediately to the Palace, where her Imperial Majesty's Apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a Romance.	word was brought me that the Queen's palace was on fire, by the carelessness of one of the maids of honour;

Table 71 The break-out of the fire in the chapbook

<b>Faulkner, 1735</b>	<b>Newbery, 1776</b>
However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I thought, a most signal Service.	It was not long, however, before he had an opportunity of doing, as he thought, so signal a service as would have put aside all suspicions of his fidelity.
I was alarmed at midnight with the Cries of many Hundred People at my Door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some Kind of Terror.	He was alarmed at midnight with horrid cries;
I heard the Word <i>Burglum</i> repeated incessantly; several of the Emperor's Court making their Way through the Croud, intreated me to come immediately to the Palace, where her imperial Majesty's Apartment was on Fire, by the Carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a Romance.	and several of the courtiers intreated him to repair immediately to the palace, for her majesty's apartments were on fire, by the carelessness of a maid of honour who fell asleep while she was reading a romance.

Table 72 The break-out of the fire, Newbery's 1776 version

Stone and King and the author of the chapbook reproduce the excerpt very concisely. They intervene on the source rather invasively, with the result that the original order of the sequence is visibly compromised and the dramatic tension of the source text decreases. Newbery, on the other hand, keeps his readers in suspense.

Before revealing that a fire broke out at the emperor's palace, he specifies that Gulliver was awakened by the "horrid cries" of the Lilliputians who had come to beg for his help. Once again, Newbery's text reproduces the source quite closely. The effects of the reductive shifts are not as obtrusive as in Stone and King's abridgment and in the 1750(?) chapbook. The losses enacted by Newbery are partially compensated by the clarification "as would have put aside all suspicions of his fidelity". With this addition Newbery invites his readers not to overlook the point previously made that the emperor resented Gulliver's refusal to reduce Blefuscu into a province of Lilliput. This point is of fundamental importance as it will contribute to the emperor's decision to accuse Gulliver of treason.

The analysis of the information retained in Newbery's edition revealed a close attention to children's requirements as well as general respect for Swift's text. This, however, does not imply that his version is exempt from minor conceptual divergences similar to those detected in the other abridgments and in any other version of *Gulliver's Travels* included in this study. In passage two, for instance, Newbery writes that the entertainments at the court of Lilliput are "only practiced by the nobility, and men of liberal education" thus contradicting Swift's specification that the candidates for public employments "are trained in this Art from their Youth, and are not always of noble Birth, or liberal Education". In passage three it is the emperor's successor and not his predecessor who commands his subjects to break their eggs at the smaller end. Passage four contains the most striking cases of mutation. Newbery's text does not conceal that Gulliver puts out the fire by urinating on it. Although the words 'diuretick' and 'urine' are not mentioned, the text still reveals that Gulliver "drank plentifully of wine" and that when he came near the flames the wine "was voided in such a quantity, and was so properly applied, that in three minutes the fire was totally extinguished". The specification that "it was capital offence for any person to make water within the precinct of the palace" is also retained. At the end of the passage, however, Newbery rewrites the information of the standard text by stressing the immorality and the obscenity of the expedient used by Gulliver to extinguish the fire.

Faulkner, 1735	Newbery, 1776
But I was a little comforted by a Message from his Majesty, that he would give Orders to the Grand Justiciary for passing my Pardon in Form; which, however, I could not obtain.	and Mr. <i>Gulliver</i> was informed, that the emperor would rather that the palace had been burnt to the ground, than he should have made use of such filthy means of extinguishing the fire;
And I was privately assured, that the Empress conceiving the greatest Abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant Side of the Court, firmly resolved that those Buildings should never be repaired for her Use; and, in the Presence of her chief Confidants, could not forbear vowing Revenge.	and as for the Empress, she could never be persuaded to live in her apartments afterwards, and privately vowed vengeance against the hero of our story.

Table 73 The immorality of Gulliver's expedient, Newbery's edition

The analysis of the micro-level confirmed Newbery's intention to produce an 'hybrid' edition of *Gulliver's Travels* that maintains a clearly recognisable relationship with the standard text and that, at the same time, preserves a strong popular character and complies with children's needs and expectations. We have seen that at the paratextual level Newbery pursues his objective primarily through the use of an original and attractive pictorial apparatus which evokes the illustrations traditionally found in chapbooks. At the textual level, Newbery aligns Faulkner's standard version with the conventions of eighteenth-century abridgments and introduces clarifications and ready-made interpretations, thus making the text suitable for young readers' reading and comprehension skills. We have also seen that in order to achieve his objective, Newbery implements translational shifts similar to those resulting in the other abridgements as well as in all other versions of Swift's work considered in this study. This similarity integrates Newbery's children's edition into the continuous refractive and transformative process which contributed to the flourishing of *Gulliver's Travels* on the literary scene.

## CONCLUSION

The analysis I have conducted in this study provided a concrete idea of how *Gulliver's Travels* acquired and maintained visibility within the Italian and the British literary polysystems. This process made Swift's work known to an increasingly broad and more varied readership. The extension of the accessibility of *Gulliver's Travels* from a relatively wealthy and educated elite to a popular readership and to children went hand in hand with the transition of the work from a political and philosophical satire into a popular book and a children's adventure story. This transformation occurred as a continuum rather than in distinct stages and there is not always a categorical correlation between literary genre or form and a single category of readers. In eighteenth-century Britain, for instance, chapbooks conceived for the entertainment of the largely illiterate and semi-literate masses were often purchased and read by educated and wealthy readers too (see Chapter Four, section 4.4). There is also evidence that children read standard integral editions of *Gulliver's Travels*, especially before the appearance of reductions specifically addressed to them (see Chapter Four, sections 4.4 and 4.5).

In Britain and in Italy the evolution of Swift's work and the differentiation of its readership followed roughly the same pattern. However, while in Britain these began immediately after the publication of Motte's 1726 edition, in Italy the accessibility and the popularity of Swift's work remained restricted to a small readership until the 1860s, when popular and children's editions began to proliferate. It is likely that the process of transformation undergone by *Gulliver's Travels* in eighteenth-century Britain influenced the trajectory of the work in Italy. As we have seen in Chapter Three (section 3.5), in the second half of the eighteenth century, Italy developed a growing admiration for British literature and culture. My assumption is that the direct knowledge of Swift and his works which derived from this new interest contributed to a general awareness of *Gulliver's Travels'* metamorphosis and of the success of its popular and children's editions in Britain. It is also probable that in the nineteenth century, when *Gulliver's Travels* earned increasing literary fame and the Italian reading public grew and differentiated, this awareness encouraged Italian publishers to attempt to replicate the same success. The fact that none of the Italian reworkings published between 1729 and 1890 is based on British popularisations or children's editions suggests that a widespread knowledge of how *Gulliver's Travels* evolved in Britain is the main factor behind the parallelism in the Italian and British trajectory of the work.

The stages of the evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* in Britain and in Italy were identified thanks to a combination of extensive archival research and detailed comparative textual analysis. Archival research produced complete lists of reworkings, thus providing relevant and rigorous insights into the British and Italian textual and publication history of Swift's work. Comparative analysis clearly illustrated how reworkings gradually enhanced the hybrid character of Swift's work and how continuous transformation and hybridization are inextricably interrelated with the acquisition of visibility in the literary polysystem. The close investigation of how reworkings operate showed that they always entail a process of negotiation between the formal, conceptual and narrative characteristics of the standard text(s) and the cultural, social and literary norms in force in the target situation. Accordingly, in refractions, we regularly find reiteration as well as innovation. The traits of the standard text which are retained remind us of the existence of the work in its standard form. Departures enrich and extend the meanings of the source, thus offering us a multiplicity of possible ways of perceiving and interpreting it. Some interpretations have more impact than others, with the result that they become increasingly institutionalised and inextricably associated with Swift's work. We remember, for instance, that Grandville's illustrations, Sir Walter Scott's critical remarks and the text of Barbieri's translation were frequently adopted by nineteenth-century Italian publishers of *Gulliver's Travels*. Grandville's illustrations were recycled by Borroni and Scotti (1840), Stella (1840-42), Sonzogno (1868), Muggiani (1874), Treves (1876), Perino (1886) and Carrara (1890); Scott's remarks were recycled by Treves, Paravia (1877), Sonzogno (1883) and Perino; Barbieri's translation, which was published for the first time by Stella, was reused by Bestetti (1865), Muggiani, Perino, Cairo (1887) and, to a lesser extent, by Cavanna in Carrara's children's edition. In most cases, Grandville's illustrations, Scott's biography and the text of Barbieri's translation were adapted and/or supplemented with new refractive elements. This widened the variety of readings and refractive voices associated with Swift's work, thus contributing to its further evolution. It might happen that some institutionalised reworkings challenge the concept of originality in a particularly assertive and explicit way and that, as a result, they acquire prominence over their sources. As we have seen, besides imposing a constraint on Barbieri's Italian translation, Grandville's illustrations prompted the manipulation of the English standard text in Taylor's British edition. While doing so, they further reinforced the character of *Gulliver's Travels* as a dynamic and multifaceted work whose popularity is ensured by the continuous dialogic interplay between its reworkings and by how these engage with



the standard text(s). It is important to note that this dialogic exchange involves the intersection of interpretations originated in different cultural and literary environments - French, Italian and British. This intersection contributed to *Gulliver's Travels*' position within international literary heritage.

The property of refractions of bringing about both reiteration and difference affected the dynamics which regulate the positioning of *Gulliver's Travels* within the Italian and the British literary polysystems. By establishing an explicit intertextual relation with the standard text(s), refractions reasserted the status of *Gulliver's Travels* as a political and philosophical satire written by a gifted and influential author. As the central position of the source(s) was secured, refractions assumed more or less peripheral positions depending on the degree of diversity which they entail. Variations which do not significantly depart from the standard text and/or contain institutionalised refractive elements such as Grandville's illustrations or Scott's authoritative criticism were more likely to assume less peripheral positions than those introducing new and unconventional interpretations (for example the popular editions published by Bestetti and Cairo). The fact that the popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* is largely dependent on the continuous negotiation between the standard text and its refractions suggests that an integrated and systemic approach should be adopted for its study. This approach encourages a perception of Swift's work based on the sum of the intertextual relationships which connect its standard text(s) with its institutionalised and non-institutionalised variations.

The study of the evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* clarified and emphasised the role of refractions in the life of literary works and in shaping the literary polysystem. This, as I indicated in the Introduction and in Chapter One, was the first of the two primary aims of my research.

The second objective was to determine to what extent the publication and textual history of a canonical literary work can be said to depend on translational phenomena. Interlingual translation made a great contribution to the popularity of Swift's work in Italy. Translations greatly stimulated the renovation and the enrichment of the Italian literary polysystem by prompting the introduction of cultural and literary products little known to Italian audiences. In the 1720s copious translation of French works created the conditions which favoured the appearance of *Gulliver's Travels* in Italy. In the 1840s translation of contemporary British novels renewed interest in Swift's work after a long period during which its presence on the literary scene exclusively relied on indirect criticism. From this period, translation began to operate collaboratively with



and simultaneously to other types of reworkings. This collaboration resulted in the emergence of increasingly diverse and diversified versions of *Gulliver's Travels* and in the transformation of the work into a popular and a children's book. I argue that this transformation is the result of the combination of generic, textual, conceptual and receptive shifts that were gradually introduced in response to the progressive evolution of the literary, cultural and social polysystem. These shifts were effectively detected and analysed using my adapted version of the Lambert and van Gorp model of translation description. The same method of analysis was applied to the study of the eighteenth-century British reworkings, revealing that similar translational shifts were decisive for the popularisation and the transformation of *Gulliver's Travels* into a popular and a children's book in the first place. Analysis showed that changes in the perception of Swift's work are reflected by the Italian and British reworkings at both the macro- and micro-textual level. Macro-textual shifts are especially visible in the paratext, often in prefatory critical commentaries and/or in the pictorial apparatus. At the micro level they are expressed as a result of the implementation of five shifts – reduction, amplification, reordering, syntactic transposition and introduction of conceptual discrepancies.

That abridgments, illustrations and adaptations involve strategic decisions and processes similar to those implied in interlingual translation had already been stressed by Steiner, Koring Zethsen, Pereira and Hutcheon (see Chapter One, section 1.2). These scholars promoted the classification of abridgments and of other processes of textual re-codification which take place within the same language as 'intralingual translation' and of illustrations and multimodal adaptations in general as 'intersemiotic translation'. The originality of my approach lies in the attention it gives to the effects of the shifts enacted by different types of reworkings and shows how these jointly contribute to the textual evolution and to the popularity of literary works. The Italian and the British editions of *Gulliver's Travels* examined in my study are the result of the combination of multiple processes of refractions. Regardless of whether the shifts involved by these processes occur within the same language or across different languages and semiotic systems, they produce similar effects. They increase or reduce the number of details, make the information implicit or explicit, reinforce or weaken the satirical and dramatic force. While doing so, they adapt the standard text of *Gulliver's Travels* according to the tastes and the requirements of new audiences as well as according to the conventions of different literary genres and forms. Instead of distinguishing refractions into 'interlingual', 'intralingual' and 'intersemiotic

translation', I considered them as a continuum of translational phenomena which operate concurrently to help literary works gain increasing visibility.

Having established that the evolution of *Gulliver's Travels* is largely determined by the regular appearance of its refractions and that these are fundamentally the result of translational processes, the publication and textual history of Swift's work can be seen as largely translational. The conclusion I draw is that the study of literature and that of translation could greatly benefit from their mutual integration. If we provided more opportunities for the two disciplines to collaborate, we could have better chances to know more about the life of literary works as well as about the mechanisms which regulate the development and shaping of literary polysystems. The methods of textual comparison used throughout this study, in particular the model developed by Lambert and van Gorp, proved to be a reliable and effective tool of analysis of the textual variants of *Gulliver's Travels*. I maintain that the same analytical procedure can productively be employed to investigate and understand the history and the trajectory of other literary works. More research would be needed to test the potential utility of other tools of translation analysis in the study of reworkings and of their role in making literary works flourish. This would offer us more opportunities to shed light on the transnational textual life of literature.

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**FORM UPR16****Research Ethics Review Checklist**

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<b>Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information</b>		<b>Student ID:</b>	404112
<b>Student Name:</b>	Alice Colombo		
<b>Department:</b>	SLAS	<b>First Supervisor:</b>	Dr Carol O'Sullivan
<b>Start Date:</b> (or progression date for Prof Doc students)	October 2009		

<b>Study Mode and Route:</b>	Part-time	<input type="checkbox"/>	MPhil	<input type="checkbox"/>	Integrated Doctorate (NewRoute)	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Full-time	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MD	<input type="checkbox"/>	Prof Doc (PD)	<input type="checkbox"/>
			PhD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

<b>Title of Thesis:</b>	Reworkings in the textual history of Gulliver's Travels: a translational approach
<b>Thesis Word Count:</b> (excluding ancillary data)	74.508

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study

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a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?	YES
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I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)	
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